



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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19 March 1992

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Zaire

MPR Issues Statement on National Conference

LD1803175592 Kinshasa Zaire OZRT Television
Network in French 1230 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] A statement issued by the Popular Movement of the Revolution [MPR] has just reached us. The MPR Steering Committee held a meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of citizen MPR First Vice chairman Banza Mukalay Nsangu. After examining the various points on the agenda, the Steering Committee issued the following statement related to the sovereign national conference proceedings:

The MPR strongly requests that the sovereign national conference resume its proceedings. However, in order to avoid any further deadlock which would only result in more political tension and more suffering for the people, the MPR considers that the resumption of the proceedings should this time be carefully prepared by the organizing authority through negotiations with the various political actors involved, so as to reach a consensus on the main and following points:

- the objectives to be given to the sovereign national conference;
- the duration of the proceedings;
- and the most suitable number of conference participants for a smooth running of the proceedings.

It is under such conditions that the national conference would effectively be able to carry out its role of a forum

for national reconciliation, and for setting up the structures of the third republic. The statement is signed by Masundi Mungilima, the MPR's principal rapporteur.

Opposition on Conditions for Conference Resumption

AB1803164292 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 17 Mar 92

[Text] In Zaire, the pressing question is whether the sovereign national conference deliberations will resume. Resuming the deliberations is ardently desired by all, especially the Zairian opposition, the Sacred Union. Jean-Claude Medome, from our editorial section, got the viewpoint of the opposition's liberal faction from its current chairman, Mutombo Kupa. Although the Zairian opposition liberal faction agrees that the deliberations should resume, it has, nonetheless, set three conditions.

[Begin Mutombo recording] We want the conference to resume under certain conditions. First, the number of delegates must be reduced. This condition will take budgetary constraints into account and consider the need to ensure quality debates. The second condition is that the various political forces must agree on the agenda. This means that there must be a consensus on the subjects dealt with at the sovereign national conference. We are in favor of a political debate or a show down, if you will, that will lead to sanity in the Zairian political arena. We are in favor of analyzing the Second Republic, of thoroughly scrutinizing the failures and successes, if any, in order to lay a better foundation for the Third Republic. The third condition is that the deliberations continue. The Liberal and Democratic Sacred Union is for holding elections within the shortest possible time. [end recording]

Kenya

Parliament Session Discusses 'Leaflets,' Violence

EA1803214792 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Clandestine leaflets are circulating in Nairobi, a copy of which was today produced and laid on the table in Parliament. Oliver Litondo reports:

[Litondo] A copy of clandestine leaflets entitled the time is now, was today produced and laid on the table in the house by an assistant minister for livestock, Reuben Chesire. The leaflet, printed in both English and Kikuyu, states among other things that Moi must be forced to step down now. It has Nyumba ya Mumbi [house of Mumbi, i.e., the Kikuyu tribe] in brackets at the end of the message.

Chesire was contributing to the election laws amendment bill, bill number three. The leaflet states that President Moi has incessantly instigated his Kalenjin tribesmen and security to brutalize and kill innocent Kenyans everywhere so as to stay in power indefinitely. It further states that Kikuyus have been warned and killed, and then it goes into the Kikuyu version before stating further that the time has come for Moi to step down. He must be forced to step down now and concludes with another Kikuyu sentence before Nyumba ya Mumbi at the end.

In another development, the house was treated to a most spectacular incident, perhaps unprecedented in the history of Parliament in Kenya, when an assistant minister for environment and natural resources, Ojwang K'ombundo, hurled all manner of abuses at the Kalenjins, claiming there were killing his people. He at one stage came close to a fist fight with John Cheruiyot, the minister for cooperative development, as he stood on a point of order while K'ombundo was still speaking. What do you want, K'ombundo roared. You are one of the Kalenjins killing my people, he said. Cheruiyot had to raise his hands in a surrender sign to escape the ready fist of an irate MP [Parliament Member] from Nyakach [western Kenya].

As another Kalenjin MP tried to raise another point of order, K'ombundo shot another abuse unmentionable on this station as the speaker intervened with K'ombundo still firing abuses even at the speaker. He went on to claim that Kericho district belongs to the Luos and they would fight to regain it. After several attempts to control K'ombundo, the speaker, Professor Jonathan Ng'eno, ordered him out for the rest of the morning sitting. As he walked out, the assistant minister had the last word for the speaker. You are ordering me out because you are a Kalenjin, he shouted. Other Luo MP's, except the nominated MP, walked out with him.

Paul Chepkok, an assistant minister for industry, accused three FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy]

activists of being behind the violence now being experienced in western Kenya. He named Dennis Akumu, Luke Obok, and Professor Muga Ouma as the brain behind the tribal clashes in that area. Chepkok said these people pay 1,000 shillings to youths in the area to burn family houses. He called on the authority to investigate the three men. The assistant minister appealed to Eldoret residents to ignore the leaflets being sent around in town calling on non-Kalenjins to leave the area. He said the leaflets were the work of the opposition, who are bent on spreading fear and despondency among Kenyans.

A nominated MP, (Jairus Kibaya), called for the removal of the Nandi district commissioner, accusing him of being unable to control the situation in the (Kamasi) area between the Nandi and the Luhyas. [passage omitted]

In another development, while seconding the election amendment bill which had been moved by Timothy Mibei, the minister for works, on behalf of the attorney general, Professor George Saitoti reminded the opposition that any change in Kenya's Constitution had to come through the ballot. He advised them to work very hard in order to secure a seat in parliament where they would participate in amending the country's Constitution. He hit out at the opposition parties for urging wananchi [citizens] to disobey the government and the country's law. The leader of the government business, who is also the vice president, stressed that the government will deal firmly and decisively with anybody, whether KANU [Kenya African National Union], DP [Democratic Party] or FORD set on misleading Kenyans. [passage omitted]

Former Minister Matiba 'Likely Next President'

AB1903095092 Paris AFP in English 1733 GMT
18 Mar 92

[Text] Nairobi, March 18 (AFP)—Former Cabinet minister and political prisoner Kenneth Matiba is the man most fellow Kenyans see as the likely next president of the East African country, the first opinion poll ever published here said Wednesday.

The magazine FINANCE said it asked 2,000 representative Kenyans whom they thought would be the next president in polls carried out both before and after police brutally broke up a protest in Nairobi by the mothers and supporters of hunger striking political detainees.

Matiba, a former transport minister whose arrest in July 1990 sparked riots across the country, was seen as the likely president by 50 percent of those questioned both times.

Before the bloody police action of March 3, Matiba was well ahead of the acting president of the opposition Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), Oginga Odinga, who took 20 percent, and the current President Daniel arap Moi, with 10 percent.

Democratic Party leader Mwai Kibaki had eight percent and opposition lawyer Paul Muite seven percent.

After the crackdown in Nairobi's Uhuru Park, Matiba and Odinga kept the same leads, but Moi's estimated chances fell to five percent and Kibaki's increased to 15 percent.

Asked whom they would vote for, 65 percent of the respondents backed Matiba before the police action and 70 percent after it. Moi's rating fell from 25 percent to five percent, while Kibaki's rose from 10 to 25 percent.

Matiba has for several months been recovering in London after surgery following a heart attack. If he could not stand in a presidential election to be announced later this year, Odinga would be elected according to the poll (45 and 50 percent), before Moi (30 and five percent) and Kibaki (10 and 20 percent).

The ex-transport minister was seen as the man most capable of bringing economic recovery to Kenya (50 percent), ahead of former vice-president Kibaki (20 percent) and Moi (five percent). Matiba was also voted the most courageous, honest and most competent of Kenyan politicians.

Weapons Ban Instituted in Kericho, Nyamira

EA1803131092 Nairobi KNA in English 0840 GMT
18 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Bomet [no dateline as received] The Kericho and Nyamira District Commissioners [DC] yesterday banned with immediate effect the carrying of any kind of weapon by wananchi [citizens] in the two districts. In a joint statement by the two DC's, Mr. Timothy Sirma, Kericho, and Barrack Aduwo, Nyamira, the two said the government would not allow wananchi to carry any weapon including spears, rungas [clubs], bows and arrows. The measure is intended to quell the on-going tribal clashes between Kipsigis and Kisiis living along the common border of the two districts. The two district commissioners noted that the carrying of weapons by wananchi had led to the escalation of the clashes which started last Sunday [15 March]. They said the government was capable of maintaining the law and order and as such wananchi did not need to arm themselves. [passage omitted]

De Klerk: Sense of Urgency Needed in Negotiations

*MB1903172892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1646 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Cape Town Mar 19 SAPA—Although it would be shortsighted to place a time scale on the negotiation process, a sense of urgency was still needed by all, State President F W de Klerk said on Thursday [19 March].

"The basis of negotiation is consensus so no-one can say how long it will take. We all, however, need a sense of urgency about it so it would be short-sighted to put a time-frame on the process," he said after former Canadian Prime Minister Mr Pierre Trudeau had paid a courtesy call on him at Tuynhuys.

The good referendum result would give impetus to the negotiation process and "we will see dynamic negotiation taking place. The uncertainty some people felt will only go away when they see the process in action".

Another important goal was for the economy to grow. Now that South Africa was normalising its international relations, the confidence that should have been created by the referendum would help reach that goal.

"Things are looking good towards an upswing at the end of the year."

For a long time relations between South Africa and Canada had not been good, but were improving.

"I'm glad to know that the situation is normalising as it should. There is now nothing...to prevent hearty relations between the two countries."

He hoped Mr Trudeau would take back impressions of the complexity of the problems in South Africa as well as the will of the people to solve them.

De Klerk News Conference on Referendum Outcome

*MB1803162092 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1545 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[News conference by South African State President F. W. de Klerk at H. F. Verwoerd Building, Cape Town—live; passages in italics in Afrikaans]

[Text] Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. *Good Afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.* I would like to start out by first saying thank you to all of you, because all of you have participated in this referendum as much as I and all the other political leaders have participated, and without your involvement, the electorate would not have been properly informed. So thank you to the media for making available so much space and so much time, and to play an informative role.

I would also like to address a special word of appreciation towards the Department of Internal Affairs. I think they excelled themselves. They rendered a marvelous service to the public, those who lost their documents; to immigrants who wanted to naturalize. They managed to

cut red tape in an admirable manner, and they did a sterling job, also yesterday, and also today.

Ladies and gentlemen, the result was an extraordinary one. It is one which creates confidence. It should create confidence internationally, and hopefully it will also create confidence internally. The massive positive result sends out a powerful message to all South Africans, that those who have the power in terms of the present, imperfect Constitution really mean it when they say: We want to share power, we want a new dispensation, we want it to be fair, we want it to be equitable, we believe in one undivided South Africa, within which power must be shared on the basis of no suppression, no domination, effective protection of minorities, and all the other important checks and balances which we have emphasized and for which we now have a very clear mandate.

I also wish to say that we are entering a new phase, and I wish to express the hope that those who voted no will accept this clear, democratic answer from the electorate as a clear statement, and that they will also exhibit a new approach within this new reality. It is important that the negotiation process become even more representative.

I believe it is important that they accept that the process is indeed irreversible, and that a final no has been said by the yes victory against attempts to return to the old days and the policy which could not succeed over a period of 40 years; that they should enjoy the opportunity which exists to become part of the negotiation process and to come and compete creatively. There is room for differences, and I am not asking them to agree with every point of view supported by the yes voters, but to support the reform process. The basis, namely that we should offer a just solution within the reality that we are living in the same country; to find a way of living together; and the method, namely that we should talk and place our different views on the table—all this, I hope, will now also become part of the planning and activity of those who voted no, and their leaders.

We must guard against radicalism. We must guard against frustration due to lack of success for support of your views leading to negative results. Today I also extend a hand of friendship to all who voted yes, and I call on them and their leaders to come and work with us, to come and build with us. We have reached a turning point in our history, and everyone now has the opportunity to make this turning point its departure point to long term stability and security and peace. There is enough room and a place for everyone in South Africa, and there are ways other than those advocated up to now by the no voters, to give the Afrikaner people security, a secure society, to secure everything which is so important to all the minorities in South Africa effectively. I did not ask for a blank check. I am committed to the mandate given to me, and you may come and assist to ensure that the new constitution we are working on will be a constitution which will offer real

security and peace and prosperity and stability for all in South Africa, and on which the future must be built.

Any questions ladies and gentlemen?

[Moderator] Mr. Hilton-Barber. The mike.

[Hilton-Barber] Brett Hilton-Barber, Radio 702. Sir, do you feel that the right-wing will now try to take an unconstitutional approach to halting your reforms, including widespread violence?

[De Klerk] No, I don't fear that. I am convinced that the majority of those who voted no and the majority of the leadership on the right are responsible people. They are against violence, as we are, and I hope that the no-voters won't allow themselves to be misled or to be wrongly influenced by a very small handful of radicals who might entertain such thoughts. We will continue to stand firm against radicalism, whether it's on the right or the left, and I think one of the important interpretations of today's outcome is that the overwhelming majority of voters within the House of Assembly reject violence and are reaching out to peaceful negotiated solutions.

[Moderator] That gentleman please.

[Mopane] Israel Mopane, Bop [Bophuthatswana] TV News. Mr. President, you have been given a landslide victory. How fast will you be moving to bring about democracy in South Africa?

[De Klerk] The test for success is to be found in the tempo of success of negotiation. I think that this landslide victory will have a positive influence also on the tempo. I think it will give impetus to the whole process of negotiation, but the final acid test lies in us reaching agreement around the negotiation table and nobody can really put an exact timetable on when that will be attained, but I think the foundation has been laid by the landslide victory to get there sooner.

[Moderator] Mr. (Bell) please.

[(Bell)] (Gavin Bell), London TIMES. Mr. President, on a specific point on the negotiations, the relevant Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] working group recently agreed on the need to establish an interim government council. Have you any idea whether this might be installed this year?

[De Klerk] Well there was an agreement in principal with regard to certain basic principles. Further discussions will continue. This only laid a foundation and gave structure to the discussions. There was no final agreement on specific installation of an interim or transitional government, we prefer the term transitional, and once again I think nobody can put an exact timetable because there are important aspects in that regard also still to be negotiated.

[Moderator] Gentleman next to Mr. (Bell). Thank you.

[(O'Hare)] (Julian O'Hare), from BBC television Newsnight program, London. You have won this referendum, sir, and the yes-campaign has won it, partly on the pledge to white voters of a power-sharing government in the future, yet Mr. Mandela, even as he congratulates you today, is still talking about majority government in which the party with the greatest number of votes or a majority is asked to form a government. How will you bridge that gap?

[De Klerk] The only way to bridge gaps, and that is what we have been mandated to do, is to do that through negotiation. It is an important gap and, therefore, it is difficult to put timetables because when you get to those fundamentals then there is no quick fix. It's easy to bridge gaps when the gaps relate to mere practicalities, but this will be obviously one of the fundamental aspects where we need to find accommodation. I have a clear mandate to do so now within a particular framework.

We believe that we are in step with the rest of the world when we say it must be power sharing. Some of the most successful democracies avoid the possibility of domination just on a winner takes all basis. There are so many successful democracies which have succeeded in avoiding that and the rest of the world, wherever you find the type of complexity, and nowhere is it as complex as our complexities, have found it necessary to build in checks and balances which can prevent the misuse of power, which does offer effective security to minorities against domination.

It's common sense for us to do so too, and therefore, I believe that I have a very good case and a very good cause and I am in step with the rest of the world on this issue and hopefully, wisdom will prevail at the negotiation table and we will be able to find a formula which will clearly, on the one hand, attain this, and on the other hand, will in no way detract from the essential democratic nature because we don't have a hidden agenda when we say these things. We don't want a majority, however it is made up, to be relegated into an inferior position or into a weak position. It is a question of, if you have 51 percent of the vote you shouldn't have a hundred percent of the power.

Mr. Mandela, if that is a correct reflection of his point of view, stands on the Westminster system. The Westminster system isn't a good system for our type of society. It's a marvelous one for Great Britain and, therefore, some tough negotiations lie ahead.

[Moderator] Mr. Ottaway.

[Ottaway] Dave Ottaway, WASHINGTON POST. Mr. President, I'm wondering, now that you have a clear mandate, I'm wondering whether we can expect that there will be any changes in the top levels of your security forces, and whether you will finally take any steps against the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], as it seems to be a private army on its own in the country.

[De Klerk] Yes, I've heard about the speculation that I felt I needed a mandate to do something with regard to the security forces. I want to reject it as I've done already during the campaign. There's a very, very good relationship between me and the top echelon of the security forces, the defense force, as well as the South African Police, and this story that I might be contemplating a purge of the security forces has no factual basis whatsoever. With regard to the question of acting against the AWB, we are not acting, since the 2nd of February 1990, against organizations per se. We act against illegal activities. We act against people who break the law. If intimidation is part of the policy of any movement, yes, we will act against intimidation. If unlawful interference with the ordinary run of democracy is contemplated by anybody, we will act against them. But against organizations per se, since we revoked the state of emergency, and since 2 February 1990, we are not dealing with it in that specific way.

[Moderator] [name indistinct].

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. President, why are you insisting that the MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe, Spear of the Nation—ANC Military wing] be dissolved, if you're not insisting the AWB be dissolved.

[De Klerk] The MK finds itself in a position of being offered as a private army, as a military wing of a political party, participating in the negotiation process. We've signed an accord, in the peace accord, which says that no political party should have private armies. Inasmuch as AWB could be coupled in that very same sense, our attitude with regard to the AWB would be exactly the same. We are not discriminating in any direction whatsoever, but the AWB, thus far, has not looked upon itself as a military wing of the CP [Conservative Party], and the CP has not accepted them formally, with formal links, as its military wing. So really there are some differences, but I have no sympathy for the AWB. I think that fascism and a form of neo-Nazism is absolutely unacceptable. We totally reject it. I regard that organization as a dangerous organization. They are our political opponents, and we fought them tooth and nail during the referendum, and will continue to do so after the referendum. But any organization breaking the law will be dealt with in terms of the law.

[Moderator] Mr. (Martin).

[(Martin)] (Martin), CBC Television. Just a follow-up on that question regarding checks and balances. How far are you prepared to go to ensure that checks and balances are put in place, given the stance of the ANC [African National Congress]? How far would you be able to go?

[De Klerk] Well, it's absolutely fundamental, and therefore we will put very strong emphasis on that. We will continue negotiating until we are also satisfied that a new constitution to which we agree will be able to accommodate the needs arising from the complexity of our society, and from the many minorities of cultural diversity, etcetera. So for us it's fundamental, and we're not just

playing with words. I believe it must be part of a new constitution. It is part of our bottom line.

[Moderator] Mr. Tony Johnson.

[Johnson] Anthony Johnson, CAPE TIMES. Mr. de Klerk, given the resounding victory the yes vote has just received, what do you think the prospects are that elements of the right-wing will join the negotiations, and what's the implications of this for the Conservative Party?

[De Klerk] I definitely believe that there's a strong element within the CP and those who voted no who felt, even before the referendum was called, that they should change their stance on negotiations, and should find ways and means of becoming participants in negotiations. If I can facilitate in the sense of meeting them, they are welcome to come and see me. It's an open invitation, which I issued a long time ago, and my door remains open. Many of the objections which have been offered are not valid objections. The declaration of intent does not exclude, in any way whatsoever, the type of reasonable proposals which I think some—I don't agree that they can work—but which some people within the CP would like to bring into the negotiation process. Therefore I do expect some form of realignment within the allies to the right which fought for the no vote. Alternatively, I expect a repositioning and hopefully a more realistic policy approach after some internal agonizing within the ranks of the right. But I do think that the political scene to the right of us will be very active and extremely interesting in the weeks to follow.

[Moderator] Mr. Contreras.

[Contreras] Joe Contreras, from NEWSWEEK magazine. Mr. President, you said in the past that creating a single united education department required a change to the constitution of this country. You said earlier today that this country has closed the book on apartheid. I want to ask you whether the landslide victory in the referendum will in anyway change your feelings about the possibility of creating a single unified educational department before a new dispensation is negotiated?

[De Klerk] Inasmuch as it requires fundamental changes to the Constitution, the position remains the same. Yes, it must be changed, but only after negotiation. On that there is consensus. There is already consensus in Codesa that we must not change the constitution unilaterally. That fundamental changes to the constitution must flow from negotiation and from agreements reached there. In that sense of the word I won't, because of the landslide win now, suddenly start doing important things unilaterally which we have already agreed upon should flow from negotiation.

But administratively, we have already started to do fundamental reforms with regard to education, and we cannot wait necessarily to prepare the ground for a more acceptable educational system which will also stop to be controversial in the political sense of the word because

we really need in this country—looking upon education as one of our highest priorities—we really need to start working together to upgrade education and training wherever it is possible and not to keep it in the political arena where it wrongly is at the moment. So, as I've said during the opening of Parliament almost a year ago, little bit more than a year ago, what we can do administratively to remove discrimination, to improve education, we will continue to do, but the Constitution itself is a matter to be negotiated.

[Moderator] Mr. Johnson.

[Johnson] Shawn Johnson, from THE STAR. Mr. de Klerk, did we today experience the last white referendum in South African history, and if the answer is no could you perhaps sketch for us the precise circumstances under which it's conceivable that we would go through another exercise of this sort?

[De Klerk] I made this very clear when I announced the referendum that we will be asking for a specific mandate. If we deliver on that mandate which I now have, then there won't be need again. If we don't deliver, and if on fundamentals we cannot give effect to the promises which we made and on the basis of which we gained the landslide win, then obviously I'm bound by previous assurances that, once again, I will have to somehow or another come back to the electorate, but I foresee that we will be able to deliver. And therefore I think it is improbable that we will have such a specific referendum again.

[Moderator] Last two questions Mr. (Tos Wensel).

[(Wensel)] Mr. President, on a lighter note. Today being your birthday and the gift you received, are you having a bit of party tonight?

[De Klerk] Yes. Some of our personal friends arranged a sort of a surprise party. The fact that there is a party is not a surprise, but what will happen at the party, that I'm told will be a surprise, but it's a very small group of intimate friends. But first, I have a sort of an open house at Tuynhuys and I've invited quite a number of people just to come by and have some refreshments, but that won't last long, and then I'm going to slip away and hopefully, for the first three hours during this whole referendum campaign be absolutely free from cameras or the media.

[Moderator] The last question. Mr. Christopher Wren at the back please.

[Wren] Mr. President, how calculated was the risk that you took in calling the referendum? Did it ever.... [Wren changes thought] Were you ever worried that you might lose or did you feel that you had support all along, to carry it off?

[De Klerk] I'm not a gambling man as NEWSWEEK called me on their front cover. No, I was confident when I called it that I could at that stage command nowhere near the type of support which the yes vote brought, but definitely that I had majority support. That was based

not on a guess, but obviously in modern times we all have the benefit of opinion polls from time to time and all the opinion polls also indicated that countrywide, where every vote has the same weight, I started off with basic assurance that I could win. But then a campaign of course holds its risks. Sometimes things can go wrong during a campaign and we are very grateful that in our case, instead of going wrong it really came together.

We had a marvelous campaign. We succeeded in one of, what I would describe, one of our main goals, and that was to get each and every voter who had the opportunity to vote, an opportunity to decide for himself or herself and to really divorce other grievances, and there are many. People feel uncertain. The economy is bad. Many people are going through a bad time at the moment and we have the greatest sympathy with that, but we really gave them the opportunity and they helped us by putting that aside and by focussing on the content of the question and by committing themselves to a peaceful solution through negotiation, and this was wonderful for South Africa and all its people.

I thank, therefore, in closing, the electorate for the way in which they applied their minds, they accepted our bona fides and gave us the benefit of what they believe, gave us the benefit of making a personal choice and a personal commitment. This referendum, more than the 2 February 1990, has changed and will change the face of South Africa. Thank you very much ladies and gentlemen. Everything of the best, and I hope that some of you will get in some rest now as well.

CP Spokesman Alleges 'Railroading' of Vote

MB1803184992 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Report on telephone interview with Conservative Party spokesman Koos van der Merwe by Akwe Amosu on the "Focus on Africa" program—place not given; recorded]

[Text] There is little doubt that many people will have been dumbfounded by the turnout at the polls in South Africa and the overwhelming support given to the reform program. On the line, Akwe Amosu asked Conservative Party spokesman Koos van der Merwe how upset they were by the outcome:

[Begin recording] [Van der Merwe] We are feeling very, very disappointed about the result. We thought we would do much better, and all indications were that we would do much, much better. But as true democrats and constitutionalists we accept the result.

[Amosu] How do you explain that your predictions were so out? I mean, this is absolutely an overwhelming yes vote.

[Van der Merwe] Well, neither can the government explain because they were of the opinion—informed

sources—that they would win with around 53, 54, 55 percent against about 45, 46. So, they were also completely out.

If I were to add something—and I am not doing it like a sissy—but I must point out to you that I don't think in the history of modern electioneering we have seen anything like the abuse this government has made of the state-owned television service in South Africa. We have not even seen that in the now defunct USSR. So, we had a huge stampede to intimidate us into this, and under the circumstances one is still proud that almost a third of the electorate resisted this intimidation and still voted according to their true conscience.

[Amosu] But Van der Merwe, this actually wasn't just a matter of the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] putting across a biased message, was it? I mean, you had the whole of the privately owned media, you had athletes, you had artists, you had absolutely everybody saying: We don't want to go back. We want to go forward. We want to go with the reform process.

[Van der Merwe] Yes, but the point is we say exactly that. We have said consistently that we don't want to go back into the past, and we said we wanted also to go forward with the reform process. But, you see, it was very convenient for the government to paint us in a very, very character type of way that we are a bunch of racists; that we hate blacks, that we just want to shoot them; we don't want to talk; we don't want to negotiate. It suited their purpose because this is why they could win so dramatically.

[Amosu] What people have actually said is: We want to go ahead with the reform, but Mr. de Klerk's plan. Not with anybody else's reform, but with the National Party's reform.

[Van der Merwe] Yes, that is true. The point of view that we tried to convey to the electorate was one that we are also in favor of reform, but not the type of reform Mr. de Klerk has in mind. We offer a better deal, but it never got through because we had a railroading. As they say in America, we had railroading electioneering here. They stampeded us through like a locomotive within 20 days. I think it was very unfair, but as I said in the beginning we concede that we have lost. We are constitutionalists and democrats, but when I say that I also add that there was no.... [Van der Merwe changes thought] This was an abortion of democracy.

CP's Hani Evaluates 'Thrashing' in Referendum

*MB1803194492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1825 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[By Enrico Kemp]

[Text] Cape Town Mar 18 SAPA—The moment of truth has arrived for the Conservative Party [CP], Mr Chris Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, said on Wednesday [18 March]. Speaking at a Cape Town press conference after the peoples' budget march, he said the "thrashing" which the CP and its

rightwing allies had received in referendum would cause tensions within the party. Elements within the CP, including MP for Overvaal Mr Koos van der Merwe, believed that the party should put its case at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

"Clearly, the alliance of convenience and expediency has not achieved anything. The majority of whites in South Africa want a negotiated settlement. The rightwing must now join in negotiations to ensure a peaceful resolution of the conflict in our country," Mr Hani said.

He also called on the "forces in big business" who had campaigned successfully for a yes vote, to now accept the moral responsibility of mobilising the country for democracy.

Congress of SA [South African] Trade Unions [COSATU] General Secretary Jay Naidoo, speaking at the same press conference, said if President F W de Klerk did not now act decisively against forces orchestrating violence in the country, the ANC [African National Congress] and its alliance partners would have no option but to wage mass action campaigns throughout the country.

He reiterated COSATU's demands for the government to stop restructuring the economy unilaterally and to enter into a economic negotiating forum on key issues such as VAT [value-added tax], housing, education and welfare spending.

CP Holds Caucus Amid Predictions of 'Split'

*MB1903135992 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
19 Mar 92 p 1*

[Report by Peter Fabricius political correspondent: "Divided 'CP' [Conservative Party] Licks Its Wounds"]

[Text] Cape Town—A pole-axed CP [Conservative Party] called a caucus meeting in Cape Town last night to lick its wounds and consider its future, amid predictions of a split in the party.

After its drubbing in the referendum, tensions between the pro-negotiation and anti-negotiation faction could reach breaking point.

CP sources said the pro-negotiation faction under maverick MP Koos van der Merwe would probably argue today that the route of ousting the Government through the ballot box was now closed. The party now had no option but to go into Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] to try to negotiate for some form of regional autonomy for a white state.

The Van der Merwe faction is likely to be fiercely opposed by the hardliners under deputy leader Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, who might shift the argument by accusing

Mr. van der Merwe of undermining the CP's referendum campaign by making repeated statements contradicting official policy.

Observers believe Mr. van der Merwe deliberately did this during the campaign to shift the party leftwards, knowing the leadership could not contradict him for fear of undermining party unity.

Mr. van der Merwe and his allies declared that the party could not return to apartheid and was prepared to negotiate, even with the ANC [African National Congress].

The result has been that Mr. de Klerk has been given a resounding mandate for reform which the CP can no longer credibly dispute.

NP [National Party] secretary-general Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday said the chances of a CP split were strong because of the divergent directions the party had taken during the campaign.

And David Gant, chairman of the DP's [Democrat Party] national executive, said "genuine non-racist Afrikaners"—like Mr. van der Merwe and CP [Orange] Free State leader Cecil Pienaar—would now realise that the only way to achieve their legitimate political objectives was to take part in Codesa.

However, even "verligte" [enlightened] CP MPs such as Dr. Pieter Mulder believe the bulk of the party will hold out against Codesa.

DP, HNP Leaders Comment on Referendum Results

MB1903053492 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Mr. Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary general of the National Party, said the outcome of the referendum is a clear mandate to the government and the National Party to go ahead with negotiations. He said it is a clear sign to fellow South Africans that the whites want to live with them in one country.

[Begin recording] [Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer] I am indeed pleased with the result, it is wonderful. I have always said that we would gain a yes vote with a 60 percent majority, but 70 percent was far above my expectations. I think the mandate now has convinced the government of the white population's support for its reform process. It is obvious that there is support from other population groups as well. We should now go ahead with Convention for a Democratic South Africa to produce a new constitution and to make the new South Africa a reality. I look forward to that.

[Reformed National Party, HNP, leader Jaap Marais] We accept the referendum result, but we are not satisfied with it. We do not consider it an honest representation of the current political situation in the country because it is in strong contrast with the by-election results. This referendum was held in very unfair conditions, while the by-elections were held in more or less fair conditions. We

from the right realize that the struggle does not end here. We are going to do our best to prepare for the next challenge. I am convinced that with proper organization we will fare much better, and I suspect that Mr. de Klerk's problems will be so great that we will probably have another opportunity to vote in 1993. [end recording]

AWB Leader: Yes Vote Boosts Movement's Cause

MB1903124592 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1200 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] The AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] expects rightwingers to join their organization, following the right wing's crushing defeat in the referendum on reform.

AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche says the overwhelming yes vote will boost the cause of his neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement. He expects rightwingers despondent at the referendum result to flock to his organization's militant banner.

Terreblanche says the AWB is preparing for a terrible revolution, and rightwingers have to prepare themselves.

The AWB leader conceded that the defeat in the referendum was a setback to rightwing political parties, but dismissed suggestions that the rightwing alliance would disintegrate amid differences on post-referendum strategy.

Boerestaat Party Criticizes CP on Referendum

MB1803201392 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] The Boerestaat [Boer Homeland] Party says the Conservative Party [CP] must take full responsibility for gambling away an election opportunity by fighting the referendum on State President F.W. de Klerk's terms.

Boerestaat leader, Robert van Tonder, says the CP should have boycotted the referendum and forced De Klerk to call a general election to prove white support for him.

Mandela Calls For Interim Government 'This Year'

MB1903124492 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1200 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela today called for an interim government this year to oversee the dismantling of apartheid, following the massive white vote for reform.

Mandela says President F. W. de Klerk has to move quickly to share power with a black majority. Mandela says an interim government is needed to ensure a smooth and fair transition to a nonracial democracy.

The ANC leader says the political process to transform South Africa will only be irreversible once free and fair elections are held in terms of a new constitution, drafted at a constituent assembly.

Mandela also slammed yesterday's budget as insensitive, and a rich man's budget.

Last night ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa told diplomats in Cape Town that South Africa could have a new constitution by April next year. He said the ANC wants an interim government installed by July this year.

Opposes Lifting of Sanctions

*MB1903134292 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] president Nelson Mandela has warned that white South Africans' overwhelming endorsement of the reform process does not justify the early lifting of sanctions against South Africa.

Speaking in Cape Town today Mandela said apartheid is still in place, that's why blacks cannot vote.

Nordic countries in particular have begun moves to ease restrictions in the light of the referendum outcome. Mandela also said the rightwing should accept defeat in the referendum and join Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

ANC's Ramaphosa on Ensuring Interim Government

*MB1803192392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1822 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[By Enrico Kemp]

[Text] Cape Town Mar 18 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa has welcomed the outcome of the referendum, saying progress towards an interim government and an elected constituent assembly should now proceed "with maximum speed". Addressing a Cape Town press conference following Wednesday's [18 March] peoples' budget march to Parliament, he said the ANC had expected a yes victory, but had not anticipated such a huge majority. "This is a resounding victory for the negotiation process and for South Africa as a whole. White South Africans have at last started foregoing the racist policies of the past," he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said the humiliating defeat suffered by the rightwing should convince the Conservative Party to put its case at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. Rightwing parties should now review their policies, which were "in tatters" and had been overwhelmingly rejected by the white electorate.

He paid tribute to the voteless majority, who had been dignified in their patience during the white referendum. "Victory belongs to the voteless majority, who could have demanded their vote much more forcefully, but

resisted any attempt to disrupt this process. Our people will never again allow a racial vote to take place in this country," the ANC leader said.

Mr Ramaphosa said Codesa had already agreed in principle to the formation of an interim government, but the modalities of such a transitional authority had to be finalised within the next few weeks. He expected that substantive agreement at Codesa could be reached before the April plenary session on a whole range of issues, including constitutional principles and the constitution-making body, the climate for free and fair elections and the incorporation of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states. "We must now ensure that an interim government is installed by July/August and that democratic elections are held before the end of this year," Mr Ramaphosa said.

Notes Ramifications of Referendum

*MB1803192492 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Report on telephone interview with African National Council Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa by Hilary Andersson in Cape Town]

[Text] Initially, the ANC [African National Congress] was angry with President de Klerk for going to the whites to get a mandate for the reform negotiations, but it seems now that the president has been vindicated. In Cape Town, Hilary Andersson asked the ANC secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, what he thought of the results:

[Begin recording] [Ramaphosa] Well, we are rather pleased and relieved with the overwhelming victory that the yes vote achieved. It is a victory for the process of negotiations, it is a victory for our people as a whole. We don't see it as a victory for de Klerk or a victory for his party. It's a victory that our people will be owning in the next few hours and days.

[Andersson] Does the win for the government strengthened or weakened the ANC?

[Ramaphosa] No, it does not weaken the ANC, it does not weaken any party for that matter. It strengthens all parties that are involved in the negotiations process because this win gives a boost, gives a new impetus to the negotiation process, and it means that we should move ahead full steam to achieving an agreement at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], therefore.

[Andersson] Do you consider this win to be a signal that you can now disregard white opposition to the negotiation process?

[Ramaphosa] No, we wouldn't take this win as meaning that we have to ride roughshod over white opposition.

We would hope to work with the parties that represent white people in this country to achieve an agreement at Codesa. [end recording]

Ciskei Government 'Delighted' With Referendum

*MB1803201892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1949 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] Bisho Mar 18 SAPA—The Ciskei government said it was "delighted" with the outcome of the referendum and the high percentage yes vote on Wednesday [18 March]. The chairman of the Ciskei council of state, Brig Oupa Gqozo, said:

"The yes vote is definitely a victory for politics of negotiation. The beauty of democracy is that although the Conservative Party lost the vote, they have made their fears known.

"My hope is that all parties who are still committed to violence and other disruptive campaigns and schemes, will be convinced now that violence, intimidation, thug-gery and coercion breeds more and more fear, doubt and insecurity and it never wins votes at the end of the day," Brig Gqozo said.

AZAPO on Referendum, Interim Government Boycott

*MB1903121292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0954 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Johannesburg March 19 SAPA—The Azanian Peoples Organisation [AZAPO] said on Thursday the "yes" majority in the referendum would serve to strengthen the hand of State President F. W. de Klerk and the white minority at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

The organisation was giving its first formal response to President De Klerk's resounding victory in Tuesday's whites-only referendum.

"De Klerk is now in a position to push ahead with the full strength of the white population behind him. (But) there is no better evil between De Klerk's National Party and (Andries) Treurnicht's Conservative Party," said AZAPO President Pandelani Nefolovhodwe at a press conference in Johannesburg.

"Whilst the 'no' side is rough, blatant and unsophisticated, the 'yes' side seems to be smooth, polished and sophisticated, and yet still undermining and sabotaging the total liberation of our land and people."

Mr Nefolovhodwe said it was now clear a Codesa interim government would be in place before the end of the year.

In answer to a question, he said AZAPO would reject any overtures from Codesa to join such an interim government.

"We will not accept any positions in an interim government because the conditions for democracy have not yet been met. A government can only be formed after

constituent assembly elections have thrown up representatives to draft a new constitution," he said.

Asked whether a Codesa-formed interim government could take action against black left-wing groups to force them not to upset the political agenda, Mr Nefolovhodwe said it could not be ruled out.

"One cannot rule out the fact that political parties in power may use any means necessary to ensure their power is not threatened at any stage. Any government tends to ensure that all parties are under its control—in one guise or another—and if one group rejects those attempts, it may find itself on the receiving end."

On the question of being marginalised, the AZAPO president said his organisation would only fret when "our people marginalise us, not the regime".

MWU: Yes Vote To Erode White Worker Rights

*MB1903091992 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2220 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] Pretoria Mar 18 SAPA—The referendum yes majority will lead to an even further erosion of white worker rights, the Mineworkers Union [MWU] said on Wednesday night.

In a statement the MWU called for white workers to unite into a super union.

The MWU was investigating allegations from members that they were intimidated into voting yes by management. "Legal and other steps will follow if evidence confirms this.

"The yes majority will lead to an even further erosion of the rights of the white worker in the light of the momentum a reform process will gather."

Reacting to the budget announcements, the union expressed its disappointment at what it termed the inflationary increase in the petrol price.

"We also believe that the tax burden on the individual is too heavy and will detrimentally effect productivity.

"The redistribution of wealth—a main feature of the budget—is not value-added, and was motivated by political and not economic considerations."

IFP's Buthelezi Overjoyed at Support for Reform

*MB1803201692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1955 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service: "Press Statement—Inkatha Freedom Party's Response to the Results of the Referendum" by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha Freedom Party, in Ulundi on 18 March]

[Text] As president of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], I state very clearly that I and the IFP are overjoyed at the massive support for the reform programme and the movement towards a new constitution, which the yes vote in the referendum indicates.

The IFP is in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] because Codesa is nationally and historically important. We will remain in Codesa and we will continue campaigning for broadening the representation of political parties in Codesa.

I am campaigning for the inclusion of a delegation from his majesty, the king of the Zulus and from kwaZulu in Codesa. I am campaigning for our inclusion because Codesa is fundamentally important, and it is wishful thinking to think that so important a body can continue much longer without us being represented.

There was not one meeting with any person in the Conservative Party in which I, in any way, gave any indication that the IFP would ally itself with the Conservative Party [CP]. My meetings with Dr Treurnicht and his colleagues would have taken place if no referendum had been held and the content of my discussions with Dr Treurnicht would have been the same had there been no referendum.

When Dr Treurnicht attempted to capitalise on the fact that he and I had met, I immediately released the prepared discussion document which I had used at the meeting with him.

Nobody could read that document and give an interpretation to the world that there was toenad. ring [closeness] between the IFP and the CP. There were only initial exploratory discussions as part of my commitment to normalise the IFP's relationship with all political parties in South Africa.

It is mischievous of political commentators and academics, like Professor Donald Simpson, to suggest that the IFP manoeuvred to be in a position to close ranks with the CP if there was a no vote.

Quite clearly the documentation I released on the matter does not support this contention. I welcomed the decision of the state president to hold the referendum. In my document which I discussed with Dr Treurnicht, I urged the importance of Codesa and clearly called on him to join Codesa. When Mr Musa Myeni publicised a so-called IFP Transvaal leaders' non-aggression pact with the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], I disclaimed any prior knowledge of the meeting between him and Mr Eugene Terreblanche. I issued a press statement condemning the move and I have described Mr Myeni's action as mischievous.

I have struggled my whole political life to assist in bringing about constitutional changes through the politics of negotiation. I see what is happening today as vindicating my position which others have so roundly condemned for so long. We did not need the armed

struggle; we did not need the total isolation of South Africa and we did not need confrontationalism and violence in politics.

Progress in Codesa is progress away from these things and a collapse of Codesa will bring these things closer as dangerous realities which will re-emerge to establish dangerous and difficult circumstances for us. It is absurd therefore to interpret what I did in meeting Dr Treurnicht, and what I said at the opening of the kwaZulu assembly—to urge the importance of admitting the king of the Zulus and the kwaZulu government to Codesa—was directed against a yes vote in the referendum.

Inkatha Announces 'Protest Action for Peace' March

*MB1903121192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1055 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Johannesburg March 19 SAPA—The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] on Thursday announced "A Programme of Protest Action for Peace" which will start on Saturday [21 March] with a march in Johannesburg.

IFP Youth Brigade Transvaal Leader Themba Khoza said at a news conference in Johannesburg the protest action had become an "absolute necessity as our communities are being ravaged by proponents of death and destruction.

"Past efforts to achieve lasting peace have not proved adequate and thus more pro-active measures are needed to provide the necessary impetus to the achievement of our peaceful goals," he said.

According to Mr Khoza the march was not called for Saturday—Sharpeville Day—in an attempt to upstage an African National Congress [ANC] commemoration rally due to be held in Sharpeville also on Saturday.

"Politically speaking we obviously have an interest in Sharpeville Day as this was the day people were killed for pursuing the cause we are also fighting for.

"But our march is not for strategic reasons. We are in harmony with Sharpeville commemoration rallies," he said.

Mr Khoza said the IFP march on Saturday would start at the George Goch Stadium at 10am and then proceed to the John Vorster Square police headquarters.

A memorandum would be handed to the station commander by march leaders.

The memorandum would contain "certain issues of protest which must be addressed immediately for the sake of peace and stability".

These issues concerned the assassination of IFP members, the increasing use of AK-47 assault rifles by members of the ANC in "armed robberies, killing of policemen and farmers...and political deaths".

The ANC leadership's "involvement" at local and national level regarding "acts of violence" on IFP members, and the role of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation—MK], would also be protested.

"The IFP is not being provocative—MK is," Mr Khoza said.

The IFP would also demand an "egalitarian policy with regard to the searching of commuters and choice of stations" by the SA [South African] Police, Mr Khoza said.

"The IFP therefore demands the immediate and unconditional disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the immediate and unconditional handing over of ANC arms caches, unbiased policing and an investigation into ANC leadership involvement in violence by the Goldstone Commission."

Mr Khoza said IFP members would be asked to "only carry legal weapons" at the march.

"Spears would probably be carried by some members because it is a tradition. It is however a subtle problem because if people don't carry material for protection, they are attacked," he said.

Racially-Biased Municipal Elections Ended

MB1903100392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0930 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Cape Town March 19 SAPA—The government has announced an end to all racially based municipal elections, reports SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news.

Minister of local government and national housing, Mr Leon Wessels, on Thursday said all municipal elections would be postponed until an interim government arrangement, and later a permanent solution could be found.

Opening the United Municipal Executive Conference in Cape Town, Mr Wessels said the issue of local government would be discussed as a matter of urgency at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] and participating political parties would be able to put forward their points of view.

Mr Wessels also said ratepayers could no longer afford the luxury of duplicated services, which should be replaced by joint administrations.

He committed the government to a policy of "one city, one tax base", saying the referendum result had given the government a clear mandate in this regard.

*** PAC's Campaign Against CODESA Viewed**

92AF0503B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 6 Feb 92 p 11

[Interview with Maxwell Nmadzivhanani, PAC's national organizer: "Why the PAC Continues To Fight Codesa"; place, date not given]

[Text] The PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] last week launched its campaign to render the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) "irrelevant." The organisation sees this campaign culminating in the collapse of Codesa, forcing the government to enter into talks aimed at discussing the modalities of an elected constituent assembly.

Face the Nation spoke to the PAC's national organiser, Maxwell Nmadzivhanani, about the organisation's campaign against Codesa and the future of the Patriotic Front [PF].

Maxwell Nmadzivhanani says the PAC is still committed to the strategy devised by the Patriotic Front conference last year—that the negotiations table should be divided between those who support the idea of an elected constituent assembly, and those who oppose it.

NN: Why does the PAC believe that Codesa will not deliver?

MN: We have no faith in Codesa, because ultimately the powers to implement Codesa's decisions rest with the apartheid regime and the tri-cameral parliament.

We are surprised that liberation movements believe that a body universally discredited by the international community could suddenly have credibility in ushering in liberation. We are also surprised that international organisations, which declared the tri-cameral parliament null and void, suddenly today have confidence in it.

Most importantly, when we look at Codesa as it is constituted now, it violates the principles and the mandates of the PAC national conference and the Patriotic Front.

NN: How has Codesa deviated from the provisions of the PF?

MN: When we took part in the preparatory Codesa meeting, it was our view that the liberation movements should work as a front to pursue the course of discussing the modalities of an elected constituent assembly. We would have the liberation movement on the one side and the regime on the other.

The liberation movements should have approached this forum as a united front. The idea of forming the PF was that the oppressed should move collectively and in a disciplined way.

The decision of the Front was that the ANC [African National Congress] and PAC as leaders of the PF, should convene a forum where De Klerk would come as their

invitee. The ANC and PAC would co-chair the forum and draw up the agenda. What happened at the preparatory meeting was that there was no chairman, the ANC and De Klerk agreed that the judges of the apartheid regime should chair this forum. This was in violation of the decision of the PF and the common understanding between the PAC and the ANC.

NN: It is a historical fact that liberation movements do have to meet the regime to table their demands, hence the Lancaster House meeting for Zimbabwe.

MN: Those were different conditions and they engaged in genuine negotiations after a protracted period of meetings.

The overall objective of Codesa is to undermine the armed struggle. Working Group 1 is looking at creating a climate conducive to negotiations which means respecting the Peace Accord, another instrument of the regime.

Its implementation rests on the police, who are the main perpetrators of violence in this country and the pillars of the apartheid regime. The regime perpetrates the violence to divide the African community and to weaken the liberation movement.

They sponsor violence so that we can start to adulate the police. If the police are seen to be intervening for the 'protection' of a community under siege, they become the 'saviours' of the African people.

NN: How do you justify your opposition to homeland parties participating in Codesa when the elected constituent assembly may contain the same leadership?

MN: We are not opposed to them participating. We are saying they do not have a democratic track record. We believe that the masses in the Bantustans do not follow these people. I do not know any liberation movement which regards them as representative.

The Bantustans were established by the government to entrench apartheid.

We are saying the struggle is not fought in a vacuum. It is fought between social forces. Pivotal is the apartheid regime, including its structures and the Bantustans.

We are saying those who are for liberation should be for the constituent assembly. The line is clear, we do not want people to sit on the fence.

NN: Can you still hope to revive a tight front that can constitute one side of your two-sided negotiating table?

MN: As long as there are collaborative structures which cannot usher in genuine liberation, then the PAC is committed to relentlessly and resolutely prosecuting the struggle from a non-collaborative position.

NN: Commonwealth group leader Canaan Banana has said that the PAC could find itself isolated by the international community for refusing to participate in Codesa.

MN: As far as the PAC is concerned, the struggle will not be tailored to the wishes of the Frontline States, the Organisation of African Unity or the United Nations—it will be tailored to the wishes of the people. If these organisations want to collaborate and sell out our struggle, we will not join them in that effort.

We will reject a situation where these organisations seek to stampede the PAC into accepting Codesa. But if they want to honestly address the liberation of the people, we will work with them.

NN: What diplomatic efforts has the PAC been engaged in to mobilise support for its position?

MN: We have been carrying on with our diplomatic work in Africa. And it is precisely for this reason that the United States has started a campaign against the PAC. The United States also met the PAC to persuade us to join Codesa. The United States is now aware the PAC campaign against Codesa is gaining momentum.

NN: What will the PAC do should Codesa deliver a constituent assembly?

MN: If Codesa delivers a constituent assembly there would be no contradiction. We would contest elections. We are surprised that people who are championing democracy are afraid of elections based on one person, one vote. Anybody involved in the struggle like ourselves is not doing it for themselves. When we demand a constituent assembly we are doing it for De Klerk to be given the right to be proportionally represented.

What we reject right now is the concerted effort to tell our people that the only way to their liberation is via De Klerk and Codesa.

*** Status of National Peace Accord Reviewed**

92AF0503A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 6 Feb 92 pp 6-7

[Article: "Working for Peace; Can the National Peace Accord Put a Stop to the Violence?"]

[Text] The resurgence in politically motivated violence this year has added to the urgency to review all efforts made so far to end the bloodletting. Most important of these efforts was the signing of the National Peace Accord [NPA] more than five months ago.

And if one proceeds from the premise that the violence is being orchestrated by adversaries of the democratic movement, then the initiative to re-examine these attempts at peace must be taken by the ANC [African National Congress] and its allies.

So far though, neither the ANC, nor the National Peace Committee (NPC) have demonstrated that the National Peace Accord has the capacity to halt, or at least reduce the scale of violence.

NEW NATION spoke to the vice-chairperson of the NPC, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, about the accord and its shortcomings.

While the feeling among many people is that there is little hope that the violence can be stopped, Mogoba believes that there is still reason for hope.

He argues that the NPC is currently involved in the process of putting in place local and regional dispute solving committees which will monitor the violence.

"These committees will be monitoring the process, following up leads and investigating complaints as they come through," he said this week.

But, to date, the dispute resolution committees have little to show when it comes to responding to the recurring attacks on train commuters.

"That is a typical task of the police. As we see violence continuing on the trains, we ourselves in the committee ask the same question everybody asks: 'what are the police doing?'...so, it is the duty of the police," he argued.

Asked about the role of the NPC in instances where the police are reluctant to disarm or arrest people with weapons on trains, Mogoba said people witnessing such an event have been called upon to contact members of the peace secretariat, who would take the necessary steps to ensure that the police disarmed the attackers.

But there is little, if any, information on where offices of the NPC or that of the National Peace Secretariat (NPS) are located. The NPC's much publicised plans for a multi-million rand media campaign to popularise the accord and its workings, have yet to get off the ground.

Despite continuing violence, the peace process, it seems, has been relegated in the list of priorities of almost all the protagonists following the inauguration of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

And although officials in the National Peace Committee (NPC) and its associated structures argue that the peace effort remains on track, they remain unconvincing in their arguments.

That progress has been made is indisputable. But it is not the rate at which this progress has been made that is at issue. More important is its effectiveness in responding to the violence in a way that would halt the carnage, or at least curtail it. The frequency of incidents of violence, especially on the trains, however suggest that whatever progress has been made, it is far from enough.

NEW NATION spoke to Bishop Stanley Mogoba, vice-chairperson of the NPC and Charles Nupen, chairperson

of Soweto's Local Dispute Resolution Committee (LDRC) about some of these issues.

There are also relatively few regional and local dispute resolution committees in the affected areas where residents could lay complaints.

Responding to these criticisms, Mogoba said: "This is where the media comes in. You in the media should help us popularise the names of the people in a certain committee in a given area, as well as their telephone numbers."

As far as the dispute resolution committees are concerned, however, some parties to the accord have yet to nominate representatives to these structures.

Without identifiable representatives of the NPC at local and regional level, residents have no one to take their complaints to. Monitoring of the violence therefore remains non-existent in almost every area.

However, Mogoba indicated that the police were also signatories to the peace accord and they were expected to do their work in terms of the accord and as law enforcement officers.

"We have been meeting with them and asking them what they are doing about the violence—and they tell us they are making progress...."

"Any police officer should know that things like train attacks have been concentrated on the Reef. Why can't they deploy enough manpower in those areas?" Mogoba asked.

Mogoba's, and therefore the NPC's evident concern at the police's ineffectiveness in containing the train attacks, has not found expression in moves to remedy the problem at the highest level in government.

There seems to be no evidence that the NPC has asked F.W. de Klerk to address its concerns. This, despite the NPC having been vested with powers to call the police to order at the highest level.

Asked what the NPC was doing about the evident culpability of the South African security establishment in the violence, Mogoba said the matter had been referred to the government, the ANC and Inkatha.

"This issue of private armies has been referred to them, because it seems they are the ones that are concerned with each other's armies," he said.

Commenting on concerns that the Goldstone Commission lacked powers to prosecute, Mogoba said Justice Goldstone could not prosecute and investigate at the same time.

But, he said, the commission had investigated several cases and it would submit its report. Should the NPC decide that Judge Goldstone be given prosecuting powers, the NPC would look at the possibility.

The Difficult Job of Creating the Proper Climate for Peace

Charles Nupen, chairperson of the Soweto Local Dispute Resolution Committee (LDRC), remains convinced that the peace accord can be implemented in Soweto where deep-rooted suspicions militate against peace.

Soweto's experience is critical because the tension between political organisations have made it difficult to set up structures. And where structures have been established, these themselves have caused disputes.

One such example was the exchange of words between the ANC and Inkatha that followed this week's decision by the Soweto LDRC to establish a crisis centre and a Violence Monitoring Committee.

The ANC took exception to an IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] statement, which said the IFP had proposed the establishment of the structures. An ANC spokesperson accused the IFP of opportunism and said Inkatha's behaviour had "the potential of wrecking the idea of a local dispute resolution committee."

Another indication of the tensions that exist was Nupen's election as a compromise chairperson because it proved difficult to elect a chairperson from among the 17 organisations that comprise the LDRC. Even the chairperson of the National Peace Secretariat, A. Gildenhuys, was not beyond suspicion.

Gildenhuys' report also reflects the difficulties associated with the establishment of local peace structures.

"This committee was very difficult to establish," his report said.

"Deep-rooted enmity between some of the committee members makes it very difficult for the committee to fulfil its functions."

But there has nevertheless been some progress. An executive committee, formed after Nupen assumed the chairmanship of the committee, met this week to devise a strategy to address the resurgent violence. It was in this context that the monitoring committee and crisis centre were proposed.

The executive committee of the LDRC is made up of two representatives each from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the African national Congress (ANC) alliance and one from the security forces. The chairperson of the LDRC serves as the sixth person.

Nupen was impatient with any criticism that suggested that the NPA was unworkable and explained that the implementation of structures under the peace accord should be seen as a process that would ultimately create a climate for peace.

He said that in the brief period that the LDRC had been in existence it had moved to establish monitoring mechanisms and a crisis centre.

Nupen said the NPA was an indispensable grassroots tool for ushering in a new era in South Africa.

He said he would take issue with whoever suggested that the National Peace Accord should be subsumed under the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

While the NPA has not yet been taken under the wing by Codesa, the danger of the peace initiative being relegated in favour of the constitutional process seems very real.

In fact, some have already argued that that has already happened. Key officials in organisations like the ANC, for example, who were nominated to serve on the NPC structures, are now occupied with the tasks of various working committees set up by Codesa.

Nupen, however, argues that: "The NPA and Codesa are operating at different levels. The constitutional deliberations of Codesa involve the political leadership, while the NPA mechanism entails setting up structures and dealing with the process on the ground. The two processes should be seen as complementary."

He said the role that political leadership could play in enhancing the peace process would be to "constantly re-affirm their commitment" to the mechanism of facilitating peace through the peace accord.

The Mechanics of the Peace Process

Under the National Peace Accord (NPA) signed in August last year, a National Peace Committee was established "to monitor and to make recommendations on the implementation of the NPA as a whole and to ensure compliance with the Code of Conduct for Political Parties."

Another structure functioning under the NPA is the Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation.

A National Peace Secretariat, chaired by Dr. A. Gildenhuys, was established during November 1991.

According to the chairperson the Secretariat has concentrated its effort towards establishing Regional and Local Dispute Resolution Committees.

The areas that were identified for the establishment of Regional Dispute Resolution Committees [RDRC] were Natal/kwaZulu, Witwatersrand/Vaal, Northern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Western Transvaal, Orange Free State, Ciskei/Border, Southern Cape, Western Cape and Northern Cape.

So far the following Dispute Resolution Committees have been established:

—Natal/kwaZulu RDRC on which 22 organisations are represented. The executive committee comprises of representatives from the ANC, IFP, National Party, Democratic Party, the South African Police and two co-chairpersons—Archbishop Dennis Hurley and MC

Pretorius. The committee is considering the establishment of a LDRC at Richmond, Bruntville, Port Shepstone, Empangeni, Oshatini, Umbumbulu, Umlazi, Bulber and Stanger.

- The Border/Ciskei RDRC has 19 organisations represented. R. Mason is chairperson of an executive committee comprising of one representative each from the ANC, business and the Ciskei Government.
- Western Cape RDRC has established a five persons Steering Committee to establish an executive committee and to elect a chairperson from the 15 organisations represented.
- Soweto LDRC—see story above
- The Germiston LDRC—KA Jansen and Rev. B. van Zijl have been elected as co-chairpersons of the committee which represents eight organisations.
- A Thokoza/Phola Park LDRC was established as a continuation of an informal committee established previously by the National Peace Committee.

The Goldstone Commission

State President F.W. De Klerk has established a standing commission under the chairmanship of Judge Goldstone. The NPA endorsed the commission.

The Commission has established committees to investigate incidents of violence. At least one has completed its investigations and one report has been forwarded to the Attorney-General for his consideration.

A statement issued by Justice Goldstone says "the commission has to date sent out 500 written requests for information concerning public violence and intimidation. They have been sent to political parties and political organisations, universities, editors of newspapers, local authorities, civic associations and other institutions and bodies which may have information relevant to the Commission's terms of reference."

Thokoza Committee

The first committee under the commission to hear evidence about Thokoza violence, particularly around the events leading to the murder of civic leader Sam Ntuli, who was gunned down in broad daylight last year. No fewer than 17 people were killed at his funeral. The Committee is still hearing evidence.

Welkom Committee

A second Committee was established in order to hold an enquiry into the violence which began on November 3, 1991 at the President Steyn Gold Mine in Welkom. The Committee started meeting on November 29.

Mooi River/Bruntville Committee

The Committee was established in the wake of the January 3 & 4 violence in the area. It heard evidence between January 13 and 21. A report is yet to be released.

New Nation

On December 10, 1991, New Nation referred sworn statements to the Commission implicating two members of the South Africa Police stationed at Schweizer-Reneke in a conspiracy to abduct and murder Jerry Maine, the chairman of the civic association in Ipelegeng.

After considering the evidence the Commission referred the matter to the Attorney-General of the Transvaal.

Front Organisations

The Commission will begin to hear evidence on Monday February 4 regarding the South African Defence Force's [SADF's] funding of "front organisations" which the WEEKLY MAIL suggested were in existence. The hearings will be heard in public "unless special circumstances dictate otherwise" according to the Judge. The venue will be the Commissions' Cape Town offices, 14th Floor, Reserve Bank Building.

Public Transport Violence

A Committee will be established to hear evidence regarding violence on trains and taxis.

*** IFP Official Discusses Transitional Period**

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in English 14-20 Feb 92 p 11

[Interview with Musa Myeni, IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] Central Committee member: "IFP's Stand on Codesa"; place, date not given]

[Text] Musa Myeni, IFP's Central Committee member clarifies his organisation's rejection of the ANC's [African National Congress] constituent assembly, and why traditional leaders should be involved in the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

Musa Myeni says that the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP) Transitional Government (TG) proposals, if implemented, would have the effect of freezing the powers of the executive president by "stealth" while creating "orderly" transition.

Among the steps envisaged by the IFP is a referendum to seek popular approval for constitutional principles agreed upon by Codesa, and simultaneously seek a mandate for a TG.

The TG of national reconciliation, as envisaged by the IFP, would have three distinct features: a constitution drawing forum, a newly constituted legislature and an executive comprising of commissions. While ministers

in the current parliament would retain their positions, their functions would be to implement the decisions of the commissions.

The legislature would absorb the tricameral parties and the extra-parliamentary parties under the presidency of National Party leader F.W. de Klerk.

The IFP envisages the process taking a maximum of three years. Elections would follow at the end of the process.

NEW NATION (NN): Are your proposals not evading the critical test of an election that would give legitimacy to the process of change?

Musa Myeni (MM): If the challenge is based on legitimacy, then dissolve Codesa immediately. If you are challenging the mandate and legitimacy of those parties and organisations participating in Codesa, then the very fact that an illegitimate institution like Codesa should give birth to something that you would call legitimate, is illogical.

Who must create the constituent assembly? It is the Interim Government (IG). But who forms the IG? It is Codesa. Who gave them the mandate to work out something legitimate?

NN: Why does the IFP find the referendum preferable to the constituent assembly route or an elected Transitional Government?

MM: There would be two principles. First, we would check out the basic principles of the constitution. Secondly, once the constitution has been drafted, we take the draft to the people. In other words, we would be legitimising the constitutional process. The constitution drafting body would look at the result of the referendum and say, 'the people say yes to this and no to this. Since this is a key principle, let us debate it again'. In this way, we would be in constant communication with the people. [single quotation marks as published]

NN: If we judge by the Patriotic Front [PF], it would appear that there is a considerable constituency that believes in an elected constitution drafting body, that is, the constituent assembly. Your impressions?

MM: We are saying no to the constituent assembly. Firstly, it is time consuming. In our calculation it would take between two and three years before we get to the implementation of a new constitution.

The ANC's approach has the IG followed by a constituent assembly, you have a major problem there. You need two years to implement an IG fully.

For instance, if you do not get involved in the provincial government, the executive wing of government will issue a directive, which will be resisted by the white provincial structures. So you have to get your own people from all the organisations, represented in the provincial government.

Also, we do not believe that a climate exists for free and fair elections. More importantly, the election process will exclude a lot of political groupings. Those on the right and those on the left, including, Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress].

We are somehow concerned, if through an election, you exclude the PAC, Azapo, AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], Conservative Party [CP] and the Democratic Party [DP]. You might end up with the IFP, the ANC and the NP [National Party] drafting the constitution in the constituent assembly.

In the IFP, we are speaking from a position of strength. We argue that we are coming out of a terrible history marked by polarisation.

To start eliminating large groups who are too small to win a constituent assembly election, but large enough to destabilise the country, is dangerous. Let us have an all-inclusive process, which will include even the small party. So that it can say at the end of the day, even though I did not win the election to go into government, I was part of the process.

NN: Would you not concede that you need an electoral process to ensure, through democratic means, that parties without constituencies do not create unnecessary deadlocks with their non-negotiables?

MM: Even if you can have a constituent assembly, deadlocks will be there. You are saying to me because you got 10 votes, another 50, then the one with the biggest must dominate the rest. We are saying that this is a recipe for chaos because very easily, the other two parties can club together. Their combined vote will undermine your majority vote.

The other two people might walk out and leave that constituent assembly, leaving that party which is not willing to accommodate those other opinions.

We do not want to take that situation of intolerance into the constituent assembly meeting.

We are saying, while you have a transitional government in place, let this create a constitution-negotiating forum. This remains in place just in case things fall apart.

NN: How do you form a legislature that is not subject to the decisions of the new enlarged executive?

MM: That is a separate body which is created by amending the constitution. The National Party and the Democratic Party are giving us guarantees that they will support that constitutional change.

You have to alter the "own affairs" clause in the constitution, dissolve that, then take the House of Representatives, the House of Delegates and House of Assembly and legislate that. There shall be created an expanded body of parliament to include and accommodate those political parties that are not part of the parliamentary system.

Say there are 200 people from these houses representing coloureds, whites, Indians. We say the blacks are the majority, let us create something like 300 seats for them. Each party would then send a certain number of people. No elections will be called for. The Codesa principle would operate.

NN: Besides people saying we do not want to co-manage apartheid, are you going to have a ruling party forming the government?

MM: The government will be the executive which consists of all of us. Decisions are not taken to promote party interests, but are taken to promote national interests. Two types of decisions will be taken. Those relating to law and order in South Africa. The second kind will be those that direct the transition to create an environment conducive to elections.

De Klerk remains the president, but he does not enjoy the awesome powers he enjoys right now.

In other words, by stealth, you freeze the present provisions of the constitution.

NN: The demand that the Zulu King be included in Codesa has been met by the suggestion that it would mean all traditional leadership be allowed to send delegations. Your comment?

MM: We were the first ones to say that all traditional leaders must be involved. The land was taken away from traditional leaders. When you are now negotiating the return of the land to the African people and their participation in the governance of the land, why leave these people out? Are you not perpetuating colonialist thinking?

We say why can't we get Tswana chiefs represented by a delegation? KwaZulu has the Amakhosi forum which should be represented in Codesa.

If we do not discuss the role of the King and put it in the constitution, we will have a deadlock in the future. What powers and authority will the new government have over what is known to be traditional Zulu land if his Majesty the King says, "you shall not have this in my area!"

We have to avoid constitutional deadlocks. Because the Zulu King can mobilise his nation and say now I want to secede, I want my land back because these people are not willing to listen to me about my land which was taken away by the English conquerors.

We are saying let us bring in all traditional leaders:

NN: How does the regionalism advocated by the IFP deal with the problems of demarcations as demonstrated by the Afrikaners who have identified a large chunk of land for their republic?

MM: The Afrikaners are dealing in crazy stuff. They even take the area where the Zulu King lives.

We are looking at dividing SA [Republic of South Africa] into probably 10 administrative units. This is not in terms of creating a Tswana or a Xhosa or a Zulu or an Afrikaner State.

We would want to divide South Africa into regions based on economic viability. There are natural regions in South Africa. You do not have to create new boundaries. The eastern Cape, for example, is predominantly Xhosa. The whole of eastern Cape including Transkei, Ciskei, Port Elizabeth and East London, could be one region with one government. All the people there could participate in democracy. Let them control schools health, roads and the infrastructure.

Then you take the whole of Natal, it is one composite region, just have it as one region.

Then the Transvaal is big, you can divide it into four regions. Parties already in existence will contest elections. National organisations and parties will contest elections in more than one region.

* Competing Views for Future of Homelands Noted

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[Text] National Party (NP) proposals that the interim government [IG] should be an elected body which may also be charged with the task of drawing up the new constitution, could mark the demise of most of its former allies in the present tricameral and homeland system.

If NP leader F.W. de Klerk does not have a "hidden agenda" and is prepared to help ensure that the election of the interim government is free and fair, his suggestions will be regarded as good news for the democratic movement.

In a non-racial, free and fair election that included the homelands, only two parties from the tricameral parliament—the National Party and the Democratic Party—would have any say in drawing up the new constitution.

Homeland parties would be the major casualties of an election as suggested by De Klerk. But some of them may still be able to win a few seats in their present constituencies.

If, however, Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] decides on a minimum number of seats as a requirement for a place in the IG, most homelands may still not feature in the constitution-making process.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is to date, the only known group to oppose the idea of an elected body ruling during the transition and drawing up the new constitution.

However, the IFP has not presented a principled reason why it rejects the notion of an elected interim government or constituent assembly. Its rejection is based on

the fact that it would not be possible to hold an election under the present circumstances of violence.

The ANC [African National Congress] also believes that stopping the violence is a priority, but does not feel that continuing violence would be a good enough reason to postpone an election.

Even if the constitution was to be drawn up through a process of discussions in a forum like Codesa as suggested by the IFP—sooner or later, an election for a new government would have to take place.

But on the other hand, the IFP has put forward a suggestion for an appointed interim government—after certain conditions have been met—and that the tricameral parliament would be dissolved, but that those serving in it would transfer to a new parliament.

Other parties, in terms of the IFP's suggestions, would second representatives to such a parliament.

The IFP's proposals would again raise the question of the legitimacy of such a parliament or government in the sense that only the tricameral parliament members would have been elected participants—the rest of the parties would be appointed untested.

This would create problems in instances where such a parliament would need to vote on certain issues. It would seem inconceivable that non-elected members could vote on issues affecting people who do not have a say in a decision-making body.

Constitutional affairs minister, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, says the National Party government is prepared to negotiate the idea of a "phase one" interim government to supervise the electoral process. However, a major issue that would have to be negotiated is whether there would be single election for South Africa and the homelands.

This question is likely to be resolved before the time to discuss an interim constitution approaches. Codesa's Working Group 4 is precisely dealing with the issue of the future of the TBVC states—Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

However, it is not known at which stage of the process the TBVC states would be re-incorporated into South Africa, should agreement to this effect be reached in Codesa.

The leading option is that the re-incorporation should take place during the reign of the interim government so that the decisions made by such a body could not be undermined by the existing homeland governments.

Of the four so-called independent states, only Bophuthatswana has expressed its unwillingness to be re-incorporated, unless Bop voters supported such a move.

Constitutional experts argue that the government—under the present constitution—may not be able to revoke Bop's independence, unless by force.

The Bop government or any other homeland government resisting re-incorporation, could take the SA [Republic of South Africa] government to court if its independence was revoked.

But if the present constitution was amended to declare South Africa a unitary state, then the system of independent homelands would automatically fall away and those which resisted re-incorporation, would have no legal recourse to the courts.

Bop would not be able to put its case before the International court of justice, Since it is not recognised as a country, in terms of international law.

Meanwhile, neither the government nor the ANC have clearly articulated the question of regional governments during the transitional period.

The government talks about a federal system of government, while the ANC suggests regional governments whose powers would be limited to their regions—rendering them powerless to influence or block any decision of the central government.

* Afrikaner 'Volkskools' Resist Integration

92AF0505C Johannesburg THE STAR in English
20 Feb 92 p 21

[Article by Helen Grange: "Computers and Vierkleurs Rub Shoulders at Volkskool"]

[Text] The most striking thing about the robust children at Welkom's Volkskool is their brimming confidence.

Here, nestled in a small brick building surrounded by a tranquil garden, these youngsters seem extraordinarily self-assured as they tap away on their computer keyboards.

Their education, entirely sponsored by their parents, is astoundingly rich and diverse—mediated largely through personal computers lined up neatly along a desk in a colourfully decorated classroom.

Yet, there are a number of signs in this refreshingly optimistic setting that education here is not only about equipping the mind with the essential tools for future employment.

At the front entrance of the school flies the Vierkleur flag (symbol of Boer resistance during the Anglo-Boer War)—a reminder of the philosophy that got these children, at substantial expense, into the school in the first place.

Emphasis

Under a table in the main classroom is a scuffed old-fashioned suitcase, which sports a well-drawn Vierkleur on its lid.

History lessons at the volkskool focus heavily on Afrikaner history (volksgeskiedenis) and Western history with an emphasis on the Afrikaner's European roots.

A critical point of the system is the reinforcement of the children's Afrikaans identity, the founding philosophy being that they will at some point live in the Afrikaner volkstaat, says Julian Visser, the coordinator of the three existing volkskools in the country.

"The children sing the Ou Transvaalse Volkslied (Old Transvaal national anthem) under the flag in the mornings to remind them of the struggle for their country in the past and the struggle for their country now," he says.

Mr. Visser's advice and direction in setting up community-based schools which effectively secure separate education for Afrikaners is being sought by an increasing number of conservative communities in the country—and parents are prepared to pay handsomely to keep their children out of racially integrated schools.

The first volkskool was erected last June with 11 pupils in Orania in the northern Cape and the concept was quickly acted on in Welkom and Danielskuil in the Free State, which opened their volkskools in January with 45 and 42 pupils respectively.

The Orania Volkskool, now with 100 pupils from all over the country, and Danielskuil-Volkskool both teach pupils up to matric level. The Welkom Volkskool has divided its children into primary and "basic" (eight- to 12-year olds) school groups.

In the last two weeks, a number of communities in the northern Transvaal have approached Mr. Visser for his expertise in designing specialised education packages and coordinating the logistics of getting a volkskool up and running.

"These Afrikaners just don't want to be a part of the government's education scam or of a unitary South Africa.

"The government is using education to make a political point, and we are not interested in sacrificing our children's lives and lowering education standards for the sake of that point.

"A person is born of a certain heritage and nobody can change that. To expect a child to deny his culture so he can fit in with a non-defined integrated group will leave him confused about his identity and without a sense of belonging," ventures Mr. Visser.

It is difficult to catch Mr. Visser out. He has thought carefully about the requirements of the self-governed volkstaat that he and the privileged youngsters in his volkskools are anticipating.

Looking around the school for black labourers, perhaps mowing the lawn or preparing school lunch, I can spot none. "We have no black labour at the volkskools. Part of the education is geared toward the responsibilities of being grown-up and self-sufficient. Anyway, the Afrikaner has never had a problem looking after himself," says Mr. Visser.

Computers and advanced technological equipment is needed in the modern world, and the volkskools therefore teach children from an early age to be computer-literate and understand basic electronics," Mr. Visser reasons.

"Every child will soon be able to work on his own CD TV (combined compact disc and computer package) for four hours a day," he says.

Interest

Mr. Visser is prepared to follow the concept of Afrikaner self-determination in education right through to university level if enough interest is shown. "If I get 50 applications for a university, I will open one in January next year."

Meanwhile, back in the present, a small blonde girl is ringing a brass bell, signalling lunch break. A rotund boy rushes out with a wooden rifle and waits around a corner for the girls.

"Hy skiet ons," ("He's shooting us") they yell excitedly, holding on to our legs.

This brings to mind a question I have been avoiding—about whether physical training in the form of military-style discipline is part of the volkskool's educational programme.

"The orientation of the education is entirely up to the community financing the school. There could be an emphasis on physical training, agriculture or mechanics if that was desired by the parents. An educational system has to conform to the needs of the community," Mr. Visser replies.

On the way out through the sunlit classroom, I see a teacher's certificate on the wall declaring: "Die Afrikaner se toekoms is sy kinders" (The Afrikaner's future is his children), and I wonder whether the future for these children will indeed be as their parents and teachers have predicted.

* ANC's Language Policy Examined

* Proposals 'Indecisive'

92AF0506A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 21-27 Feb 92 pp 9-10

[Text] The ANC's sensitivity towards the contentious issue of language policy has left the organisation unable to move forward in a decisive and programmatic fashion. And proposals recently unveiled by its Language

Commission seemed tailored to satisfy all constituencies rather than provide constructive debate towards the development of a workable policy.

No attempt to give pointers towards answering the questions raised by these proposals were made.

The proposals do not commit the organisation to promoting indigenous languages as ruthlessly as Afrikaans was, nor does it present strategies to curtail the dominance of English.

A critical shortcoming of the policy document is its failure to resolve the conflict between the political and cultural sensitivity attached to language policy and the economic implications of the proposals.

The ANC [African National Congress] would like to promote multi-lingualism as "a source of richness," but recognises the constraints of resources. It is this recognition that leaves one in doubt of how soon language practice in South Africa will be changed.

The languages of South Africa are (in alphabetical order) Afrikaans, English, Sipeedi, Sotho, SiSwati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu, say the ANC.

Domination of languages flowing from the status of English and Afrikaans as the official languages, must be ended, the organisation says.

The Act of the Union of 1910 made English and Dutch the "official" languages. And the rise of Afrikaner nationalism secured the same status for Afrikaans in 1925.

This means that the entire South African population, estimated at 35-million people, could only be served in the languages spoken by 7.7-million.

The ANC wishes to empower the other nine languages by promoting their use in business, public service, politics and other avenues of social contact such as literature, education and media.

"No language shall be declared "official." Instead the State shall be empowered to designate one or more of these languages to be used for defined purposes at the national level or in any region or area where it is widely used."

The commission acknowledged the need for a "lingua franca," but sought to emphasise that this should never be equated with a national language.

In distinguishing between the two, commission member and Wits University academic Qedusizi Buthelezi says a national language is one that is used for national festivities and it has the same status as national symbols such as the flag and the anthem. A lingua franca, however, is a language that is used to facilitate communication in a society with a heterogeneous language tradition.

South Africa does not have a national language, but preliminary discussions suggest that English may become the lingua franca, she said.

More important is the ANC's resistance to selecting one language as an "official language."

This is based on the ANC notion of language rights which dictates that each person should be able to demand from the government that he or she be served in a language he or she is most competent in, says Buthelezi.

While this sounds like the perfect response to the multi-lingual character of South African society, it has not gone without criticism. And critics have asked whether the policy was workable in financial terms, for example.

The ANC's answer to this is that different languages will be dominant in different areas.

But this linguistic federalism comes without any clearly defined geographical delimitation.

There is therefore an urgent need to demarcate the zone for each language so that a person may know in which areas she/he may demand services in a particular language.

However, the federalist approach to language cannot address all aspects of costs that arise from the recognition of 11 languages.

Education, for instance, is a national project requiring national strategies. The state would have to ensure that school material is translated into each of the eleven languages.

Availability

"Subject to the availability of public funds and private resources, primary and secondary education should, wherever possible, be offered in the language or languages preferred by parents, teachers and students," says the ANC.

One of the shortcomings of the policy proposals is that it does not dispel the concern that, while all the languages are equal, English may become "more equal than" the other languages.

The ANC suggested that it may take time to introduce the new language policy.

But the obvious risk of this approach is that the dominance of English and Afrikaans would be prolonged.

Whether English becomes the official language by default or the nine indigenous language stake a respectable place shall depend more on the programme of action than the statement of intent.

*** Eleven Languages Recognized**

92AF0506B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 21-27 Feb 92 p 10

Article: "A Question of Language"—First paragraph is introductory paragraph printed in italics]

[Text] In a critical departure from continental African government practice that has tended to favour colonial languages—mainly English, French and Portuguese—the ANC [African National Congress] has proposed a language policy that recognises 11 languages.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU)—alarmed at this state of affairs—declared that: "Language is at the heart of a people's culture...the cultural advancement of the African peoples and the acceleration of their economic and social development will not be possible without harnessing, in a practical manner, indigenous African languages in that advancement and development."

The multi-lingual approach of the ANC seems geared towards ensuring that the majority participate in the democratic process in the language of their choice.

The organisation says, "there is no need for people to continue to be victims of language, whereby possibilities are stunted, reality is distorted and judgment warped."

At the same time, whatever policy is adopted, it must ensure that English is not subordinated to the point where South Africans can no longer communicate in that language, because it is used internationally.

There is also the need for a lingua franca, a language of intra-community communication. (It need not be either the "official" or "national" language.)

The legacy of apartheid places South Africa in a unique position, where a language policy has to be devised that is not only workable, but can also serve the process of reconstruction.

"We have the task of transforming the languages of our country from instruments of division into instruments of national unification," according to linguist Neville Alexander, who heads the National Language Project in Cape town.

Official

"In regard to official languages, I would propose that English be an official language nationally and that all other languages have official status on a regional basis," he says. "This will be decided by the concentration of mother-tongue speakers of the particular language(s)."

While this would seem to be similar to the ANC's proposals, the organisation argues that national unity should not come at the expense of multi-lingualism.

"Though language is often regarded as a unifying factor in the life of a nation, the ANC is of the opinion

that...language should not be used to assist the process towards unity by promoting one or two languages at the expense of others," it says.

A recent proposal for developing a manageable South African language policy was presented by Professor Daniel P. Kunene at the NEW NATION Writers' Conference at Wits University in Johannesburg last year.

"Multilingualism," he said, "must mean competence in several languages without any language being restricted to any region. And while English may be used as an official language, the other languages must be readily available in all areas."

Kunene believes that a number of languages should be collapsed into one. So there would be, for example, Nguni and Sotho where Nguni includes Zulu, Xhosa, SiSwati, Southern Ndebele and Northern Ndebele and Sotho includes Northern Sotho (Sepedi), Southern Sotho (Sesotho) and Tswana.

This process would entail orthographic and phonetic changes to languages. Kunene argued that the benefit of this approach would be an increased circulation of literature because books could be translated into one of the group languages, instead of into each one individually.

The merit of Kunene's proposals is that it could link several Southern African countries by means of an indigenous language.

It has been widely hoped that South Africa/Southern Africa would contribute an indigenous language that would join Kiswahili and Arabic among the major languages of Africa.

*** Future of Afrikaans**

92AF0506C Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 21-27 Feb 92 p 10

[Text] The Afrikaans language is easily the best example of the use and abuse of language policy for purposes of racial, cultural and economic domination.

History shows that Afrikaans grew out of the attempts by slaves and indigenous people to speak Dutch.

The language was later appropriated by a group of white anti-imperialists. "In the process Afrikaans was turned into a white man's language, and...became both white and male, paving the way for the kind of domination preferred by the sexist and racist ideology," says Afrikaner novelist and academic Andre Brink.

In 1914 Afrikaans was recognised as a school language, and by 1925 it was recognised as an official language.

The development of Afrikaans was accompanied by the devaluation of other languages. "The Bantu languages...are not capable of expressing the new ideas which European civilisation has brought to the country," said the education minister in 1917.

Afrikaner nationalism faced its most serious challenge in 1976 when Soweto children rejected Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools, and the resulting protests sparked off massive countrywide protests. The widespread revolt reinvigorated the ANC [African National Congress] and the anti-apartheid struggle.

In the last decade, some mother-tongue Afrikaans speakers have begun to reappropriate the language for liberation and many hope that once the language has been divested of Afrikaner nationalist domination, it can be accepted as an indigenous language.

Brink says: "Released from its political constraints and stripped of the stigma of having to be the official language of an abhorrent ideology, it would be liberated to take its place among the indigenous languages of the country."

* Taxi Industry Impacts Black Business Growth

92AF0527C Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 21-27 Feb 92 p 8

[Text] The growth of the taxi industry has had a major impact on the development of the black business sector in its 16 years of existence.

NEW NATION spoke to Pabcos [Federation of African Business and Consumer Services] managing director, James Chapman, one of those who contributed to the growth of this big black business sector.

He said whenever the black taxi industry or the South African Black Taxis Association is mentioned, people think that he was the person who developed the industry.

"It is a great misconception to think that I, single-handedly, established this large important transportation sector in the black community.

"To put the record straight, the South African Black Taxis Association (Sabta) is the brainchild of the late Jimmy Sojane of Soweto. He is the person I can fearlessly say started it.

"I only became involved in the industry 12 years ago when Sabta was already a force to be reckoned with. During that time, my family was running a petrol service station in Pretoria and that is how I was exposed to taxis.

"In order to have more clients at the service station, I asked local taxi men about the kind of service they wanted in my garage. They told me that they wanted to be allowed to use the station's ablution facilities, the kitchen, because there were no food stalls, and telephones.

"This resulted in executive members of the Pretoria and District Non-European Association visiting me. They in turn requested to use my office as their association's headquarters because they had no office," he said.

Chapman said that he was later introduced to Sabta. "During that time members were involved in a fight with the management of the association.

"It was the period when the government wanted to outlaw the use of mini-bus taxis in favour of sedans. Membership was totally opposed to that, but it was apparent that the leadership was about to succumb and this resulted in clashes and sometimes physical violence.

"Sabta requested me to provide them with legal assistance. In fact, I realised that I was in the middle of a cross-fire between membership and their organisation. To this day, there are people who feel unhappy because of my involvement at that stage.

"I contacted other lawyers and advocates to assist Sabta membership with the case which was eventually won. Elections were held in Durban and James Ngcoya was elected to presidency," he said.

Chapman said he resigned immediately after the court case was won because of financial losses he incurred. But Sabta members fetched him from his farm in Pretoria and requested him to return to the organisation.

It was agreed that, on his return, Sabta would pay him the R[rands]200,000 legal fees owed to him.

"I started doing deals by negotiating with banks, garages and other institutions to grant discounts to Sabta members. Most of the Sabta members did not have capital or security.

Discounts

"I also discovered that taxi members were not receiving any discounts on petrol or new combis even though the taxi industry was the biggest buyer of these vehicles.

"You know 12 years ago, if a black man went to buy a taxi, he was not allowed to sit in the showroom but made to stand outside where forms were brought to him."

Chapman said that in other instances people were made to pay up to R4,000 more than necessary to cover the risks dealers believed they took when selling a vehicle to a black customer.

"It was a complete rip-off," he said.

"Apartheid should not be blamed on the government, apartheid has always been practised by the large business as well.

"We have on record an incident in 1982 where a man was charged R52,000 plus GST [General Sales Tax] for a vehicle which cost R23,000.

"Then the Sabta Foundation Scheme was initiated, which for many years, was an excellent way to buy a taxi. When the scheme started, we charged a deposit equal to 20 percent of the vehicle's price. As we developed, we changed our approach and charged a 15 percent deposit.

"A person who buys a taxi for the first time, but has been in the taxi industry for three years, was charged a 25 percent deposit.

Experience

"For a man who is coming in for the first time and has no experience in running a taxi, we charged a 35 percent deposit.

But these things have changed because we have now discovered that a man who has been in the industry has a better chance of paying.

"We therefore charge a newcomer a bigger deposit so that he pays smaller monthly installments.

"Other black business organisations approached Sabta, telling us about the lack of finance and expertise. They also wanted to know how come Sabta had computers, good management and a healthy financial base.

"After people like Joas Mogale, president of the African Builders Association and Dr. Ellen Khuzwayo from the National Black Consumers Union acquired information on how we managed the organisation, they decided that their organisations and Sabta should pool resources.

"They also had a common marketing unit which raised funds, trained staff and took care of public relations. What started as Sabta working hand-in-hand with two other business organisations grew tremendously to an association with 15 affiliates, a membership in the region of 1.5-million and a national network of 230 fulltime salaried staff," Chapman said.

He added that it showed that the growth of the black business sector was not the work of a single man but the result of a joint effort.

South African Press Review for 19 Mar MB1903112892

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

CP Urged To Join Codesa—The defeat of the Conservative Party [CP] in the referendum "brings it to the crossroads," says a page 24 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 19 March. "It can either become an embittered party destined to be reduced to minuscule proportions by the imminent enfranchisement of the black majority, or it can argue its case at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]. We would welcome a decision by the CP, or a significant section of it, to join the negotiating table. Those in CP ranks who have spoken, however circumspectly, of a modified form of self-determination within a federal formula may get a surprisingly sympathetic hearing at Codesa."

Budget Ignores Need To Generate Economic Growth—A second editorial on the same page says Finance Minister Barend du Plessis's budget "is an as-you-were

document which shows little appreciation of the overriding need to generate economic growth. Much more fiscal revenue will be needed to pay for demands on the State's resources." The greater allocation to social services is a "commendable objective" which, however, is "bound to result in additional spending overruns if the economy continues to stagnate." "The Minister had two choices. He could cut the tax burden and expand investment incentives to promote growth and revenue. Or he could play it safe. Sadly, he chose the latter."

BUSINESS DAY

Budget Focuses on 'Immediate Political Expediency'—A front page "Budget Comment" in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 19 March says Finance Minister Du Plessis's budget "wallows in immediate political expediency. Its emphasis on social spending is laudable if viewed solely against the country's social needs. But it is also designed to buy support in negotiations, in Codesa." BUSINESS DAY believes Du Plessis "has given us the worst of all worlds: inflationary hikes in excise duties on petrol, alcohol and so on; the extension of VAT [value added tax] to temporarily zero-rated food items; and no compensatory cuts in income taxes despite the token acknowledgement of the crippling effect of fiscal drag. The Budget does nothing to create the economic growth needed if the grand plans for higher spending on welfare, education, police and health are not to collapse for want of government funds."

Whites Vote for 'Shared' Future With Blacks—Commenting on the white referendum results, the page 12 editorial says: "White voters, choosing freely and individually, have rejected their apartheid past; more significantly, they have opted decisively for a shared future with their black compatriots." Therefore, "his hand strengthened by massive voter endorsement, President De Klerk must now go on to show the fruits of negotiation, to assuage white fears where possible and to explain the inevitable concessions and compromises. He need hide nothing; whites are going into the future with their eyes open."

SOWETAN

Referendum Results To Accelerate Negotiations—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 19 March in its page 8 editorial says there was "a thankful sigh of relief yesterday when whites did the right thing by voting for South Africa." SOWETAN hopes this will give "black South Africa its confidence back so that violence will once and for all be removed from our townships. Part of the violence was caused by an angry impotence and a suspicion in the minds of blacks that the Government and those it represented were not sincere. There is now no reason why the negotiation process should not be speeded up." "At the same time we have to appeal to our people to lay down their weapons and talk. We appeal to our leaders to act strongly against violence. We appeal to our people to have patience and tolerance."

Angola

Cabinda Troop Placement, FLEC Operations Linked

MB1903133292 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 () 19 Mar 92

[Text] The confinement of Angolan Government troops is linked to the suspension of armed operations by the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave, FLEC.

Major General Jose Pedro, commander for the Cabinda military area, has said that there will be no confinement of government troops as long as there is no accord with the FLEC armed groups operating in that part of Angolan territory. He added that the Angolan Government has begun contacts with the various FLEC factions to have them suspend their armed operations.

The military commander for Cabinda Province denied the presence of 15,000 People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, soldiers in the region, adding that information does not reflect the truth.

General Denies FAPLA Troops Sent to Cabinda

MB1803201492 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] There is not, and never has been, a deployment of People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] troops in Cabinda since the signing of the Bicesse Accords. This was stated by FAPLA Major General Jose Pedro, commander of the Cabinda Military Region. He was denying allegations made by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] whereby FAPLA had disembarked 15,000 men in Cabinda. Jose Pedro went as far as challenging UNITA to substantiate its claims.

Today, we tried to contact the UNITA representative at the Joint Verification and Control Commission, but due to plausible reasons our efforts were in vain. We were simply told that the representative was sick.

Nevertheless, there is relative calm in Cabinda, although sporadic actions have been carried out by factions of the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave [FLEC]. Maj. Gen. Jose Pedro said that the latest FLEC action was launched on the road between Cabinda and Bucu-Zau, (?damaging) many vehicles. He said that a detailed report on the incident would be issued in due course.

FNLA Leader Cited on Interference in Cabinda

MB1903053792 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Telephone interview with Luanda correspondent Anita Coulson by Akwe Amosu on the position on Cabinda of Holden Roberto, the leader of the Angola National Liberation Front, on the "Focus on Africa" program; date not given]

[Text] In the past couple of weeks a new, potentially disruptive element has cropped up in the peace process in Angola. It's the northern enclave of Cabinda which is rich in oil. The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] opposition has already fallen foul of its incipient separatist tendencies, with the defection of two of its top officials who went off and back appeals for Cabinda's autonomy. Now the leader of the old third force in Angola, Holden Roberto of the FNLA [Angola National Liberation Front], has [words indistinct] into the Cabinda debate. Our Luanda correspondent Anita Coulson has been talking to him. On the line, Akwe Amosu asked her what Holden Roberto said:

[Begin recording] [Coulson] Well, Mr. Holden Roberto, the president of the FNLA, that stands for the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, has said to the BBC today that he suspects a number of foreign governments of interfering in the internal affairs of Angola, and more particularly in Cabinda to stir up the independence movements there. He has launched an appeal to these governments. He says they include at least two African governments, at least one European government, and one American government, not to stir things up in Cabinda because he says it could unleash a new civil war in Angola.

[Amosu] Well, unravel that a bit for me. What do you think he is actually talking about? Which countries is he talking about?

[Coulson] Well, he hasn't named them and obviously I suppose it wouldn't be prudent or diplomatic for him to name them, but he seems to be pointing the finger at the Republics of Congo, Zaire. One assumes that the European power he is referring to is France, and obviously he is not leaving the United States out of this picture either.

[Amosu] What kind of interference is he talking about and with what objectives?

[Coulson] Well, it's not very clear what kind of interference in sum. One suspects that what he is referring to are sums of money and support of some kind or another to one or more of the independence factions. He is referring of course to the interests of both the Republics of Congo and Zaire in getting their hands on the enclave because it would obviously lead to greater sources of oil wealth for either of those two countries. But what he is most concerned about is the fact if Cabinda were to succeed in its independence bid, then almost every other region of Angola would want to follow suit. There is already a separatist movement in northeast diamond-rich province of Lunda Norte. They have apparently been issuing pamphlets to all those not born in the province, warning them to get out or face the consequences. There are a number of other kingdoms or ethnic groups in Angola who might well say: Well, if they are pulling out, we will pull out too. And Mr. Roberto says this could lead to the disintegration of the whole country. [end recording]

Lesotho

BNP Says Referendum 'Extremely Encouraging'

*MB1903092092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2212 GMT 18 Mar 92*

[Text] Maseru mar 18 SAPA—The Basotho National Party [BNP] c. Lesotho said on Wednesday night that although the referendum was sectional, it was extremely encouraging that whites had voted for common sense and a reassuring future.

"What is now important is whether President F.W. de Klerk's courage could transcend out-of-place white fears."

The BNP said the successful conclusion of the referendum should hasten the process of genuine democracy.

Mozambique

Egyptian Deputy Foreign Minister Ends Visit

*MB1903053692 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 17 Mar 92*

[Text] Egyptian Deputy Foreign Minister 'Umar Jad said in Maputo today that his country is open to a more profound cultural, technical, and scientific cooperation with Mozambique. He was speaking to our correspondent at the end of a one-day visit to Mozambique. He stressed that his country is interested in assisting in Mozambique's socioeconomic development through cultural and scientific exchanges, as well as trade and investment on a mutual advantageous basis.

While in Maputo, the Egyptian envoy met his Mozambican counterpart, Salome Moiane, with whom he discussed issues relating to bilateral cooperation, and exchanged views on international developments.

Asked to comment on why his country is interested in Mozambique, 'Umar Jad said that Egypt is interested in mineral resources because his country lacks raw materials for its industries.

[Begin Jad recording] As you know, Egypt is Africa's second largest economy. We are interested in Mozambican resources. I think that the economies of the two countries have mutual interests. What Mozambique now requires is capital flow [preceding word in English] in order to create jobs, and to build infrastructure. In view of its industrial capacity, Egypt can assist Mozambique in those sectors.

For its turn, Egypt needs raw materials because we have very poor resources. So, the two countries have mutual interests which will serve to strengthen our relations. I think that the door is open for closer cooperation between the two countries. [end recording]

The Egyptian envoy was carrying a message from President Mubarak to his Mozambican counterpart, Joaquim Chissano. The message called for a common African

standpoint on international changes in order to overcome the common economic, social, and financial problems Africa is facing.

Minister on 'Next' Peace Talks, Aid for Renamo

*MB1903082492 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0500 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Transport and Communications Minister Armando Guebuza has announced that the next round of Mozambican peace talks will take place in Rome, the Italian capital, toward the end of April.

Addressing newsmen outside the proceedings of the Mozambique Liberation Front, Frelimo, Central Committee's third ordinary session, Transport and Communications Minister Armando Guebuza said that the Mozambican Government and other political forces are interested in seeing the Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, change into a political organization as rapidly as possible.

Minister Armando Guebuza noted, though, there are many reasons to believe that Renamo may still seek a military resolution to the conflict.

Commenting on reports that Renamo might still be receiving foreign assistance, particularly from South Africa, Transport and Communications Minister Armando Guebuza said that meetings are currently under way between the Mozambican and South African Governments to discuss those reports.

Kenya-Trained Renamo Men 'Infiltrated' North

*MB1903082592 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 0500 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Quoting a source in the chief of General Staff's Office, AIM [Mozambique Information Agency] reports that Kenya-trained Mozambique National Resistance, Renamo, men have been infiltrated in our country's northern provinces.

AIM learned from that source that Renamo's preferred targets are the suburbs of Maputo, Beira, and Nampula cities with the aim of placing strong pressure on the Mozambican Government to accept certain conditions at the Rome peace talks.

Namibia

Democratic Turnhalle Alliance Lauds 'Referendum'

*MB1903094592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0900 GMT 19 Mar 92*

[Text] Windhoek March 19 SAPA—The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [DTA] of Namibia has sent South

African President F. W. de Klerk congratulations on the overwhelming "yes" vote for reform in Tuesday's [17 March] referendum.

"Like the rest of the world, we are delighted that you are now in a legitimate position to proceed with the necessary democratic reforms in South Africa," DTA leader Mishake Muyongo said in a letter released in Windhoek on Thursday.

"White South Africa has shown its goodwill and urgency to take the hands of its black compatriots in the search for a better, democratic and stable future," he said.

"Your brave victory should also be seen as a clear indication to the Namibian Government that the time has arrived to remove clouds of doubt placed over the sincerity of the majority of whites in Namibia," he added.

Zambia

Foreign Minister 'Happy' About Referendum Vote

MB1903053592 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 18 Mar 92

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Vernon Mwaanga left for Johannesburg, South Africa, for talks with his counterpart, Pik Botha, on bilateral relations between the two countries. Speaking before departure at the Lusaka International Airport this afternoon, Mr. Mwaanga said Zambia was happy that white South Africans had voted in favor of the referendum as it has given President Frederik de Klerk the mandate to continue with the peace process. He said that the white voters have saved the region from a possible catastrophe, because a no vote would have definitely led to a war in South Africa, which would have affected the neighboring countries in one way or the other.

Supreme Court Acquits Kaunda's Son of Murder

MB1903133092 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1300 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Zambia's Supreme Court has quashed a death sentence on former President Kenneth Kaunda's youngest son Kambarage. The court also acquitted him of murder. Kambarage was sentenced to death last year for killing a young woman in 1989. Today three Supreme Court judges ruled after an hour long hearing that the trial judge misdirected himself. The judges rule that the young Kuanda had acted in self defense.

Zimbabwe

Parliament Passes Land Acquisition Bill

MB1903135192 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1339 GMT 19 Mar 92

[Text] Harare March 19 SAPA—Zimbabwe's Parliament on Thursday [19 March] unanimously passed the Land Acquisition Bill which empowers government to seize commercial land, despite bitter opposition from white farmers who had sought radical amendments to the legislation..

ZIANA news agency reports that at the start of business, House Speaker Nolan Makombe announced that the parliamentary Legal Committee had returned a non-adverse report on the bill, which had several amendments made on Wednesday during the committee stage.

The bill was then read for the third time, with history being made at 2:38 PM when it was unanimously passed.

The Land Acquisition Bill now only awaits the signature of State President Robert Mugabe to become law.

Liberia

ECOMOG-NPFL 'Technical Talks' Break Down

AB1903092092 Paris AFP in English 1814 GMT
18 Mar 92

[Text] Monrovia, March 18 (AFP)—Technical talks between West African peacekeeping forces and Liberia's main rebel group, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) led by Charles Taylor, have "totally collapsed," THE NEWS newspaper reported Wednesday. The talks broke down over disagreements on how the peacekeepers should deploy in NPFL-held areas, encamp and disarm fighters, it said.

The newspaper quoted senior peacekeeping authorities as saying a meeting last week between the two sides failed to change the NPFL's demand that its forces be jointly deployed with the peacekeeping force, known as ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group]. "We will not accept joint deployment and policing of borders. This will not give the semblance of encampment and disarmament," ECOMOG chief of staff Etta Ojang Mbheh told the paper.

Niger

Government Emissary, Tuareg Leader Hold Talks

AB1903093192 Paris AFP in English 1529 GMT
18 Mar 92

[Text] Niamey, March 18 (AFP)—A Niger Government envoy has met with Tuareg rebel leader Rissa Boula to prepare for official negotiations between Tuaregs and the government, Interior Minister Mohamed Moussa was Wednesday quoted as saying.

Moussa late Tuesday said that he was "optimistic about a negotiated settlement", since progress towards talks was now at a "very advanced" stage, the ANP news agency reported.

The rebel Tuareg Front for the Liberation of the Air and the Azaouad (FLAA) had taken 29 "hostages", who were being held in the Air mountains of the Sahara and "well treated", the minister said.

Since kidnapping 10 people in a weekend raid on a desert outpost at Iferouane, 1,000 kilometres (625 miles) northwest of Niamey, the FLAA has been holding 14 Republican guards, eight gendarmes and seven civil servants.

Niger had reinforced the security forces in the Air mountain region, apparently in a bid to find and free the prisoners, a Tuareg source told AFP.

Moussa did not say who had met Boula, believed to lead a group of several hundred guerrillas who claim to represent the 700,000 Tuaregs making up about 10 percent of Niger's population, nor when, save that it was "recently".

Last week, Prime Minister Amadou Cheffou said his government, the interim parliament and Niger's president, Brigadier General Ali Saibou, planned to send a joint mission to the north to talk to the rebels.

The guerrilla campaign began two years ago when rebels announced they were fighting against "exploitation and persecution" of the Tuareg community "since the beginning of the century" when Niger was still in French colonial hands.

The FLAA stepped up operations last October at the cost of 18 lives, including 11 rebels, and 25 wounded. The rebels have also seized about a dozen vehicles from the authorities, aid missions and private individuals.

A Tuareg representative in Niamey, former Communications Minister Khamed Abdoulaye, told AFP he was detained Sunday [15 March] night and released the following morning after being forced to give written answers to questions about his activities.

Police suspected him of planning "to lead a rebel group which was to attack the town of Tchén-Tabaradene", 500 kilometres (some 300 miles) northeast of Niamey on Saturday [14 March] night, he said.

The FLAA argues that a national conference which last year set up interim authorities for a transition from military rule to democracy did not take account of Tuareg needs.

Rebel leaders say Tuareg nomads should be allowed to run their own affairs and given a share in wealth derived from mining in their lands, particularly of uranium ore.

The government of neighbouring Mali at the weekend opened further talks with Tuareg rebel leaders operating in that country. The negotiations, aimed at reaching a definitive peace settlement, were continuing Wednesday behind closed doors in Algiers.

Authoritative sources there said the two sides were drawing up lists of prisoners to be exchanged under the aegis of Algerian authorities, who in December 1990 mediated initial discussions.

Sierra Leone

'Sources' Say Nigerian Contingent To Leave

AB1803164692 Paris AFP in French 2017 GMT
16 Mar 92

[Text] Freetown, 16 Mar (AFP)—A unit of Nigerian soldiers deployed in Sierra Leone to repel any attacks by Liberian rebels on this country was repatriated today and will soon be replaced, according to official sources in Freetown.

The unit was deployed last year along the coast. Another Nigerian unit is still based at Bo, 320 km from the capital.

The Nigerian soldiers did not participate in the fights that took place along the Liberian-Sierra Leonean border and were considered by Sierra Leoneans as a "psychological" support.

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